

WIEMAN ON RELIGION

THE WORLD TOMORROW

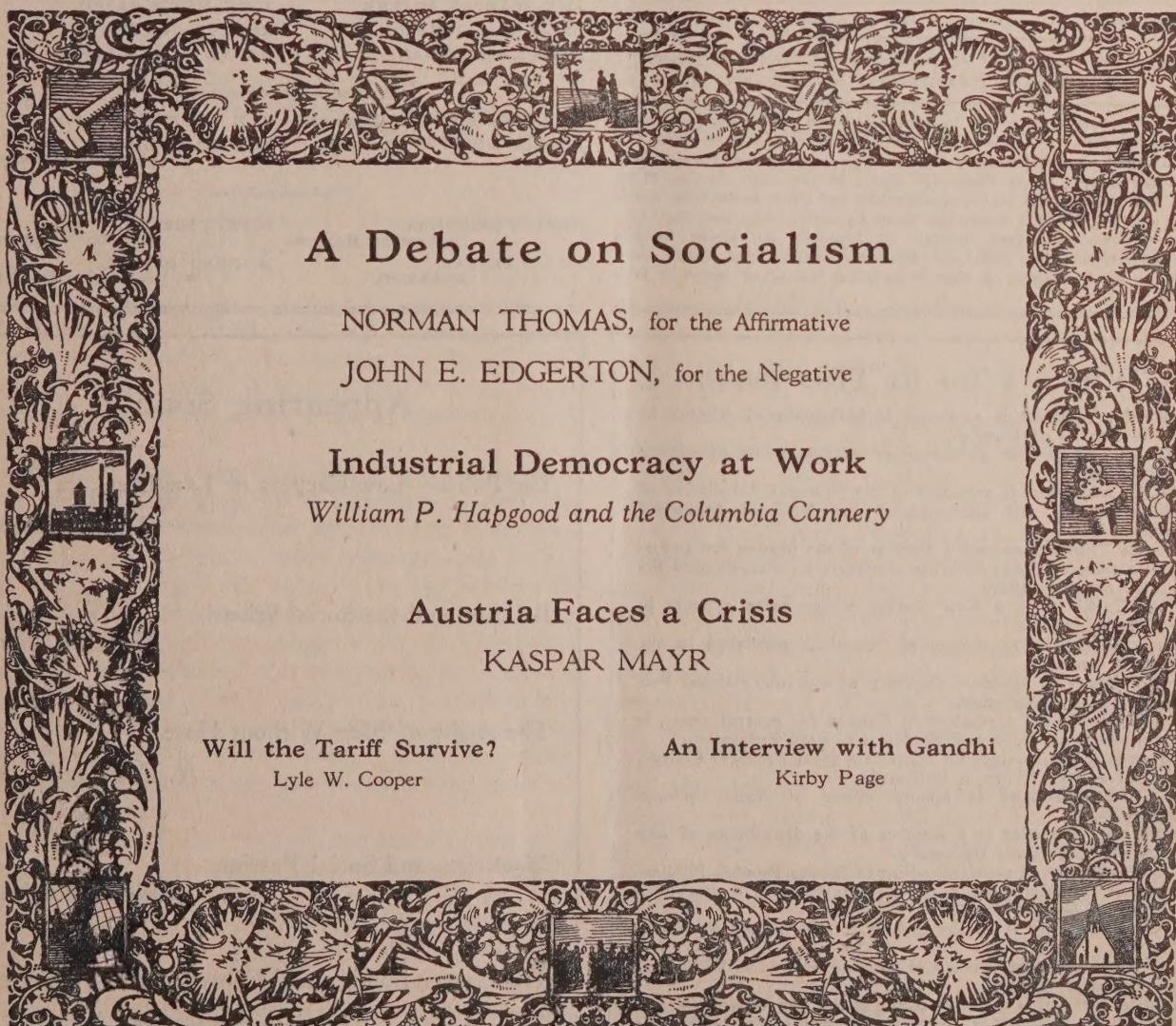
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TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

VOL. XIII

FEBRUARY, 1930

No. 2



A Debate on Socialism

NORMAN THOMAS, for the Affirmative

JOHN E. EDGERTON, for the Negative

Industrial Democracy at Work

William P. Hapgood and the Columbia Cannery

Austria Faces a Crisis

KASPAR MAYR

Will the Tariff Survive?

Lyle W. Cooper

An Interview with Gandhi

Kirby Page

THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.
52 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

The World Tomorrow

Vol. XIII

February, 1930

No. 2

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Published the first day of each month at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue,
New York, by THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is on file in most public and college libraries and is
Indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature and in Contents.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 25 cents; \$2 per year; Canada, \$2.25;
foreign, \$2.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should
be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City.
British representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.
Annual Subscriptions, 10s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept.
30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Who's Who in This Issue

Henry N. Wieman is professor of philosophy of religion in the University of Chicago.

Lyle W. Cooper is professor of economics in Marquette University.

John E. Edgerton is president of the National Association of Manufacturers and chairman of the National Industrial Council.

Norman Thomas, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, was Socialist candidate for President of the United States in 1928.

Clifton Cuthbert is a New Yorker whose verse appears in various magazines.

Helen Maring is the author of "Scandal," published in our January issue.

Kaspar Mayr is associate secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Francis P. Miller, a resident in Geneva for several years, is associated with the World Student Christian Federation.

George A. Coe has, since his retirement from Teachers College, Columbia, been living in California.

H. C. Engelbrecht is history editor of Social Science Abstracts.

Joseph W. Spengler is a member of the department of economics at Ohio State University.

E. Leigh Mudge is associate editor of Young People's Publications of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and author of a number of books.

R. W. Abernethy is on the faculty at Hill School, Pottsville, Pa.

Paul Jones is Acting Bishop of the Southern Ohio Diocese of the Episcopal Church.

Douglas Haskell is associate editor of the *Architectural Record*.

Howard Y. Williams is executive secretary of the League for Independent Political Action.

Raymond Kresensky is a young Iowa poet and writer.

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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIII

February, 1930

No. 2

Editorials

India—The Real Test

The London Naval Conference is important, but in the long run the Labor Party has less opportunity to promote world peace on that sector than in India. Reduction of armaments, even drastic reduction is of minor consequence compared to a real blow against imperialism, a major cause of war. If the Labor Government dillydallies with the Indian question, refusing at the very least to set a definite time for dominion status promptly and ungrudgingly, it will not in our opinion be worthy of its chance. India is determined on obtaining self-rule, how strongly determined is hinted by Kirby Page's article in this issue and reinforced by more extended correspondence privately received from him and other first-hand observers. The situation is extremely grave—grave for Britain, and grave for India, which is largely single in its desire for freedom but by no means single in conviction as to method.

If Gandhi can assert his moral leadership with enough potency to carry out a campaign of civil disobedience without widespread outbreaks of violence—a game at which Britain is vastly superior—not only is there a better chance for victory, but the world will have a gigantic demonstration of non-violent social change. The resolution to congratulate the Viceroy on his escape from bombing was carried in the National Congress by a vote of only 940 to 792, and while this is not necessarily, as the press has insisted on calling it, a test of sentiment on non-violence, it is of some value as evidence that the young, pro-violence wing is by no means inarticulate.

A conference of American pacifist leaders, aware of the significance of this crisis to world peace, recently enabled Gandhi to send "greetings and support to India and sympathy with her aspirations for justice," and urged a struggle "for desired ends without violence either aggressive or defensive."

Yet while responsibility is heavy on Indian leaders, such as Gandhi and the Nehrus, chiefly it rests on the doorstep of 10 Downing Street. We hope the Labor Party will unflinchingly rise to the occasion.

Difficulties at London

The London disarmament conference must take three hurdles before its success is assured. None of them concerns the naval agreement between England and America. The political prestige of both Hoover and MacDonald are so thoroughly involved in the success of the conference that we may assume a way will be found to solve the only question which the President and the Premier left unsolved in their conversations—i.e., whether we are to have three more or less large cruisers in our total tonnage.

One of the difficulties concerns Japan's demand for a 10-10-7 ratio for cruisers as against the 5-5-3 ratio for capital ships agreed upon in the Washington conference. This, however, is not an insuperable difficulty, and some concessions will probably be made to the Japanese. The second and more serious hurdle revolves about the French position. France insists that the present conference shall be regarded only as a preliminary to the scheduled Geneva disarmament conference in which land as well as sea armaments are to be considered. Her purpose is to gain strategic strength by the presence of her continental allies at this later conference and by her ability to bargain with concessions on land armaments to gain her ends on sea armaments. She hopes thus to circumvent the Anglo-Saxon hegemony which confronts her in the present conference. France's real desire is to preserve her submarine fleet against which England and America have designs and which France regards as the legitimate defense of small against great sea powers. England and America could easily take the wind out of the French sails by acceding to her demands for the abolition of obsolete capital ships, in which case the French argument for submarines would lose most of its force.

Whether the big navy groups in England and America will permit them to take this logical step is a question. If they do not take it, only the pressure from the navy bureaucracies will prevent; but taxpayers will not continue to pay indefinitely for obsolete ships in order to provide navy officials with

positions. The capital ship is doomed once its uselessness is more generally established and recognized. However, it is probably too early for this fact to make itself fully apparent at London.

The third difficulty which besets the conference is the insistence of Italy on naval parity with France. In view of France's strategic needs, this demand is hardly justified; and in view of Italy's poverty and inability to build up to the French strength it is hardly honest. Mussolini wants parity chiefly for the sake of political prestige, and France will have to decide whether it is willing to give him on paper what will probably never achieve reality in ships sailing the sea. There is small possibility of France's making this concession; for if parity is once granted, it would be possible to approximate it in reality in spite of the relative poverty of Italy. One can never be sure what a dictator like Mussolini might attempt.

In view of these difficulties, it is not likely that the London conference will be one hundred per cent satisfactory. But the determination of England and America to reach a real understanding on parity between them will make for at least a modicum of success.

More Enforcement Confusion

The report of President Hoover's commission on law enforcement is admirable in its restraint and its frank statement of difficulties, but its services to the enforcement of prohibition are minor except for the main contribution, which is only added confusion. The really basic questions are not exactly evaded, but no adequate solution for the evils of the existing situation is proposed.

The transfer of enforcement from the Treasury to the Justice Department was expected; the abolition of jury trials in some cases is calculated to expedite cases but not necessarily justice. An interesting commentary on the complexity of the issue is afforded by a grouping of certain events simultaneous with the commission's report. 1. *The United States Daily* carried an article by Judge Florence Allen (obviously written with no thought of any special application) in which she said, "If we were to abolish the jury and substitute trial by judges, in my judgment we should very shortly see a lessening of our all too limited interest in government and a heightening of the very thing which we should be peculiarly interested to prevent, namely, a widespread suspicion that the courts are not conducted for the benefit of the ordinary man and woman." 2. A respectable personage, President Nicholas Murray Butler, as might have been anticipated, found the report "pathetic," declaring that "when the government ceases from lawlessness, it will be easier as well as more reasonable to make appeal to citizens generally

to do likewise," and calling for the people to "clear out of the House of Representatives in November next those wretched creatures who sit there to cheer and laugh when murder is extolled in their presence."

3. The report of a hearing on the Treasury supply bill was made public, including the testimony of Dr. James M. Doran, Commissioner of Prohibition, that in his judgment increased funds for prohibition enforcement would be an "unwise expenditure of money."

4. Dr. T. F. Murphy, chief of the Census Bureau's division of vital statistics, and not a Wet propagandist, stated that deaths from alcoholism in the registration area of the continental United States during 1928 were more than ever reported; though the highest percentage was in 1913, from 1916 to 1920 the number of deaths from alcoholism had steadily decreased, whereas the period from 1920 to 1928 inclusive had shown an upward trend year after year.

Clearly, the report of the commission can only be considered as preliminary to a preliminary to a preliminary.

Prosperity in 1930

In all the optimistic reports on the prospects of prosperity during the new year which the daily papers have made an annual ritual on every New Year's Day, there is, in spite of brave efforts to hide it, a note of pessimism. President Hoover, say the experts, has prevented the stock market crash from resulting in a general business depression. However, there is some question whether the generous pledges which the big business men made at the President's conference will be kept in full. Even the optimists admit that luxury trades will be affected. The brave hopes that money released from stock market speculation will be used immediately to finance building operations seem to have been a little premature. It hasn't always worked that way in previous stock market declines. If we do not increase the buying power of the working class, we are bound, too, to wrestle with the problem of increasing unemployment. Of course the country is prosperous and will continue to be. But there are definite indications that we are at the end of an era and that the future will reveal problems of economic adjustment which we have been able to escape in a decade of unparalleled prosperity, as too urgent for further trifling. The dominant groups in America can not much longer continue to exclude the farmer, the unskilled worker, and the outside world from the paradise of prosperity and maintain their paradise. The day of reckoning is not yet at hand but there are signs and portents which point to a new chapter in our national history. We have gone about as far as engineering efficiency will carry us. Soon we shall have to begin to think in political and human terms.

Criticizing the A. F. of L.

An editorial in the *New York Times* for November 11, 1929, takes gently to task those who have criticized the "unaggressive policies of the American Federation of Labor." It calls attention to a report issued by the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* in Great Britain showing that trade union membership in that country dropped from a peak of 8,399,000 in 1920 to 4,799,000 in 1928, and points out that the "decline has been progressive and sustained," marking the militant years preceding the general strike of 1926 as well as the years of disillusion after the strike. Adding, furthermore, that decline of trade union membership since the peak immediately after the war is really a world-wide phenomenon, it concludes that membership figures furnish no basis for criticism of A. F. of L. policies.

It may be admitted at once that there is no quarrel with the facts as stated by the *Times*, and also that indiscriminate faultfinding with A. F. of L. policies and leadership is neither warranted nor helpful. The A. F. of L. is in large measure the product of American conditions, as the British trade union movement is of British conditions. Certainly the American movement has terrific difficulties to contend with, and decline in union membership since the war is not an exclusively American phenomenon.

For a correct evaluation, however, of the criticism directed against certain A. F. of L. policies by progressives within that organization as well as interested outsiders, other considerations must be given weight. For one thing, A. F. of L. membership figures at the present time are padded. The most notorious case at the moment is that of the United Mine Workers which was credited with a membership of 400,000 at the recent A. F. of L. convention, though it has been demonstrated from the books of the miners' union that the actual membership is not half that figure. Trade union membership amounts to about 12 per cent of the employed population in the U. S. as against 35 in Great Britain and Germany, for example. Trade unionism in the U. S. has almost no hold on the unskilled and semi-skilled masses in the basic industries. Great Britain has been passing through a prolonged depression when trade union membership may be expected to decline, and the percentage of unemployed who cannot keep up union dues has, it is well known, been very high. In our own country the A. F. of L. has lost membership or at least barely held its own during a period of prosperity when trade union membership ordinarily rises.

Furthermore, in most countries the workers have advanced their aims and ideals through labor parties in periods when trade union progress has been impeded and as is known to all, to quote from this very *Times* editorial, "The British Labor Party is enjoying un-

precedented prosperity." Had the A. F. of L. been helping to build a political instrumentality for labor with a program to which the vigorous and liberal elements in the land might rally, its critics would complain less loudly, we opine, about losses in trade union membership.

Finally, the fact that in other countries also trade union membership has suffered decline, and perhaps in even greater degree than in the United States, is of course not conclusive proof that criticism of lack of aggressiveness on the part of the A. F. of L. is unwarranted. The question is whether, given American conditions, the A. F. of L. is pursuing policies best calculated to get results. On that basis we venture the opinion that the A. F. of L. would do well to weigh carefully the criticism directed by its friends and by militant spirits in its own midst against its failure on such points as the tariff, social insurance, militarism, and imperialism; its failure to furnish a vigorous opposition to our dominant political regime; its participation in agreement at Elizabethtown, Tennessee, last spring under which the question of discrimination against workers was to be "arbitrated" by the personnel manager of a rayon corporation; its attempt to organize the automobile industry by appealing to Mr. Ford and the Dodge Brothers rather than by seeking to win automobile workers by an appeal to their militancy, self-respect and solidarity; its failure to press persistently for the organization of the unskilled, not to mention the supineness in the face of actual exclusions of whole groups of workers such as the Negroes from social international unions. In this era of mechanization, mass production, mergers and imperialism, our American society needs a militant, vigorous labor movement. We hope that the A. F. of L. will play an increasingly important part in such a movement and so add to the contributions it has already made to American life. There are fortunately some indications that in the South it is planning to do that very thing.

Massachusetts Censorship

A recent censorship case in Massachusetts in which it was established that an agent of the famous or notorious Watch and Ward Society had acted as procuror and tempted an innocent bookseller to obtain a prohibited book in order to make the sale the basis of a prosecution has solidified the forces in opposition to the present censorship law. A committee of prominent citizens, including such well known names as Bishop Slattery, Professor Bliss Perry of Harvard, and President Mary E. Woolley of Mt. Holyoke, is seeking a change in the existing law which bans any book "containing language that is obscene, indecent, impure, or manifestly tending to corrupt the morals of youth." Under this provision a book may be

banned for an offending sentence even though the work as a whole is highly meritorious. The committee proposes a change in the law so that the merits of the entire book be considered. Bishop Lawrence's resignation from the Watch and Ward Society board, following the scandal connected with its recent prosecution of the hoodwinked bookseller, has created wide public comment, and it now seems probable the intolerable conditions of censorship in Massachusetts will be altered. If a change is effected, it will be a victory of common sense and decency against mediævalism in modern life.

Philippine Independence Again

The question of Philippine independence will once more engage the interest of Congress in this session, and an influential delegation of Filipinos is coming to Washington to argue for the redemption of pledges which our nation made to their people. With a Republican administration in power, all this might seem useless and futile. However, several prominent Republicans confess that they have recently had a change of heart on the question of giving the Islands independence. We are not able to analyze the motives of all the Republican gentlemen who say they are going to change their traditional policy on this question, but we have a strong suspicion that the battle will really become a fight between the sugar and the rubber interests. The latter, with plans for a great expansion of their holdings in the Philippine Islands, are anxious to preserve the *status quo*. On the other hand, the sugar interests are not sure but that it would be a good thing to get Philippine sugar on the outside rather than the inside of the tariff wall. The Filipinos will therefore have allies in their fight which they never had before. Although this fact does not insure the granting of independence in the present session, the new complicating factor will undoubtedly affect the course of the political argument in years to come. There is a strong probability in the present contest that the Senate will favor and the House will be unfavorable to the independence resolution. This does not mean that the House is committed to the rubber interests and the Senate to those of the sugar barons. New economic factors do not change traditional political attitudes as rapidly as that. But unquestionably new factors are there and will have to be reckoned with.

Can Espionage Be Rooted Out?

Nothing is more likely to keep enmity stirred up between the various peoples of the earth, or between different classes within a nation, than the lurking spy. American industry has been permeated with the malodorous spy system, and as many as a quarter million

employers' agents have been estimated at one time to be mingling with the workers in mines and mills and factories. How extensively the governments of the world rely on spies for secret information it is hard to say, and the very uncertainty is not the least of the system's evils. Governments disguise the appropriation of funds for their secret agents so as to make the expenditures come under unquestionably legitimate headings or so as to connect under one grouping the international spy organization and the anti-smuggling agencies, say, or the agents who watch counterfeiters. Only when some spy is arrested and proved guilty does the slimy trail of espionage become apparent to the eye, and the public is always at a loss to distinguish where the truth lies, between the innocent pretensions of oldtime diplomats or the lurid exposures of redhot fiction.

The British Labor Government under the lead of Arthur Henderson is reported to have initiated conversations with other powers looking to the abolition of espionage. Parliament, it is stated, appropriates more than \$1,000,000 annually for the upkeep of a spy organization which is not supposed to exist. The new move is more practical and more far-reaching than many an effort which has received ten times the publicity. If Labor can succeed by beginning at home, as Henderson seems determined to do, it will be a yeoman service. To sink the spy system would be a mightier stroke than to scuttle a handful of outmoded battleships.

A New French Tariff

In spite of what our brand new ambassador to France seems able to do, there is every prospect of a French Tariff bill being passed which will double the present duties on American automobiles and which will practically destroy the French market for American cars. The French, it will be remembered, suggested a boycott against American goods if our tariff rates continued to rise; but they received little support from England in their enterprise and Germany also was lukewarm toward the proposal. Now the French are going to act by and for themselves. American business interests have been hinting reprisals if the French carry out their plan, but that weapon will doubtless be unavailing. France sells us only a fourth as much as she buys from us. Our high tariff on her laces and lingerie will finally result in the exclusion of American cars from her markets, in which event we have lost more by our high tariff than we have gained. Nor is France going to permit us to escape by assembling cars on her soil. She is going to put up the tariff on parts as well as on completed cars.

This may be the beginning of a new era in international economic relations, an era which will put an end

our complacent assumption that we can continue to sell without buying from other nations. Perhaps the tariff will again become a live issue in American politics in the next decade.

Sea and Nay to Pacifists

Amid the growing number of cases in which American citizenship has been denied to pacifist applicants, it is worth while to note that there is one exception to the apparent rule. R. Ernest Lamb, a Quaker minister, and his wife were admitted as citizens last fall in Los Angeles. When filing application for naturalization papers the applicants testified to an unwillingness to bear arms. Mr. Lamb was well known and had no "radical" record or connections, and he does not regard his case as a real test.

But there is nothing radical about the record of Dr. Douglas C. MacIntosh, of Yale, who has once more received an adverse decision, this time from the United States District Court. Judge Burrows held that Dr. MacIntosh, in refusing to take oath that he would bear arms in any and every war in which the United States might become involved, "is not attached to the principles of the Constitution."

Does this make Judge McCormack of Los Angeles an accomplice in treason? It begins to look as if learning the English language is easy compared to learning the United States Constitution.

China Moves for Equal Treaties

The announcement of the Chinese Nationalist government that extra-territoriality would be abolished with the beginning of the new year is not yet taken by most of the governments concerned as meaning immediate abrogation of existing treaties. It implies rather that the Chinese government is merely asserting once more that it will not finally abide by the unequal treaties. The Nationalists propose the creation of five special courts in which cases of foreigners will be tried under Chinese judges who will, however, have the counsel of foreign legal advisers appointed by some impartial tribunal such as the League of Nations. Whether this declaration means all that it says or not, it is obvious that the question of the unequal treaties has again been pushed to the front in China. Foreigners in that country seem to think that the government announcement is merely intended to satisfy the left wing of the Nationalist party. But it may be assumed that if the Nationalist government is able to maintain itself, it will continue to press for the abolition of the present treaties; and it may in desperation actually abrogate them without negotiating new treaties, if the western nations continue to procrastinate. How much governments are moved by the threat of force rather than a sense of justice

is evident from the comparative indifference with which other countries have treated the Chinese announcement. China, they are saying in effect, is making a brave gesture which it lacks the force to render effective. Will justice-loving citizens bring pressure to bear upon their governments so that China may attain a measure of justice before it has gained the physical strength and cohesion to force action?

"Reflected Glory—"

Our lively contemporary *The Nation* adds to the gaiety, controversy and enlightenment of the land by publishing at the end of every year an honor roll. The honor roll for 1929 contains some impressive citations—Salmon O. Levinson, "father of the idea of the outlawry of war"; Gardner Jackson, "courageous Boston journalist, for devoted and persistent service without pay to unpopular causes"—not least of which is the cause of Sacco and Vanzetti; Ernest Gruening, "who, with his paper, the Portland *Evening News*, almost single-handed persuaded the voters of Maine to refuse to permit the export of hydro-electric power." Other citations cover the fields of public service, journalism, architecture, books, drama, art, science, adventure, and heroism.

Two names on the honor roll for public service bring us especial satisfaction, and make us feel a trifle smug, for they are of our very own. They are Norman Thomas, "for his intelligent, forthright, and vigorous campaign as Socialist candidate for Mayor of New York City"; and John Nevin Sayre, "of the Committee on Militarism in Education for his gallant leadership in the struggle to keep militarism out of the schools." In both cases the efforts of these leaders have had their counterpart in the work of loyal associates. But since neither will know about this editorial until it is in print, we as comrades desire to testify how well deserved is the recognition by *The Nation*. Both men have contributed to their enterprises something individual and invaluable to the general public welfare. And if this be log-rolling, make the most of it!

Churches on the Job

If the reaction of local clergymen and church members toward the Southern textile situation was in general a cause for shame, by contrast there is reason for rejoicing at the insight and capacity for concrete action displayed toward the suffering of strikers at Marion, North Carolina, by three great religious bodies—the commissions of social justice of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ. Funds are being raised and, most appropriately, administered by the Quakers, whose long record in such social enterprises is unequalled.

Religion and the Physical Sciences*

HENRY N. WIEMAN

THE physical world, meaning that meager aspect of nature which is investigated by the physical sciences, is a factor in all experience. We never have an experience, no matter how spiritual and exalted it may be, which does not include the physical as one conditioning element. But, although the physical is one of the most pervasive components in the universe, and an essential condition in every experience, it is never the whole of it. On the contrary it is one of the least.

The physical does not even cover what we ordinarily mean by "matter" in the common-sense, everyday use of that word. It is only one component of matter. Matter has color and sound and feels hard and soft. But "physical nature" has neither color nor sound and feels neither hard nor soft. Matter is immediately accessible to the senses. The world of physics is in great part inaccessible to the senses. Physical nature consists of such features as size and shape and mass and motion. But the size and shape known to physical science is not that vague contour and distorting perspective which we perceive with our senses. On the contrary it is size and shape as depicted by mathematical calculations and mechanical instruments. And the motion known to the physical sciences is not that jerky confusion we call motion. It is something much more definable and much more subject to mathematical calculation. If, then, physical nature does not even include matter, how much less does it approach inclusion of all the rest of that vast panorama called nature, with its societies, thoughts, feelings, yearnings, ideals, minds and living organisms.

Physical science has less to do with sensuous experience than any other method of seeking knowledge. Take the case of ascertaining how rapidly a stone falls to the ground: if you do not have the physical sciences to help you, you will have to watch that falling stone constantly and so immerse yourself in sense experience. But if you deal with the problem by way of the sciences, you can sit down and compute the speed of the stone with very little help from sense. Of course you must have certain elementary data about the stone and other factors, and these data must have been derived originally from sensuous observation. But given such data, the scientist does not need to bother himself any further with sensations except as these are involved in dealing with mathematical symbols. He can get into the airplane of calculation and wander up and

down the cosmos free as a bird from the muddling, blundering, stodginess of sense. The technique of the physical sciences, and of all sciences for that matter, is designed to deliver us from the trammels of sense by substituting mathematical calculation in the place of innumerable perceptions.

EVERY conscious experience, the religious included, involves sensation. The physical sciences are freer from it than most other ways of seeking knowledge. But we never can get away from sensation, however much we ignore it. When we dream in sleep we still have our kinaesthetic sensations, pressure contacts, etc. Mystic experience, like every other, includes sensation along with much else. We cannot set up a water-tight compartment between sensation and the rest of experience and hope to have the second without the first or the first without the second. They go inseparably together. In order to have consciousness at all there must be some anticipation, some memory, some feeling, all in addition to sensation. But every conscious experience involves sensation as well.

Consequently we never experience "spiritual reality" with the sensuous, the material and the physical excluded. We never do if for no other reason than that we are living in a material and physical world. The electrons and chemical processes never cease to play upon us and in us, even in our most exalted mystical experiences. We cannot think nor communicate nor love without the material and physical. Any scientific investigation of these experiences always reveals the physical present, although never in itself sufficient. In all our experience there are always the higher organizations called the biological, psychological and social, which are more than physical but never exclusive of it.

AS worshipers and proponents of religion we must cease turning our backs on the physical and sensuous as though we had to shut out this ineluctable phase of experience in order to find God. When we do that we cut away everything which makes it possible to connect with science and with all the authenticated methods of achieving knowledge. Thus we make God seem like a myth—which is just what so many in our modern world have concluded precisely because religious apologists have so frequently done this very thing. But if we can see that we find God not in any impossible experience which is thought to exclude the physical and sensuous, but in a total experience which

* First in a series of six articles on Religion and Contemporary Thought.
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includes these, then religious life and faith can find firm ground. The "more" which is added to the physical is the biological, the psychological, the social and whatever further elements of experience we may have which have never yet been categorized. It may be these uncategorized elements are the most important in the sense of pointing on to something more yet to be attained and representing the infinite richness of the world beyond our established and conventional classifications. However, in the nature of the case this can only be a matter of speculation.

The physical is but a small part of our total world of experience, although an indispensable and important part. There are, then, two errors on this score which are frequently found and are equally disastrous. One is to conclude that when we experience nature we are experiencing the physical solely or chiefly, and that the physical is the all-important and all-dominant fact with which we have to deal. The second, an opposite and equally bad error, is to think that we can turn our backs on the physical and enter into another realm of experience from which the physical is excluded. This last is the error of Mr. Eddington.

Mr. Eddington sees plainly enough that the physical sciences give us only "pointer readings," i.e., meager abstractions taken from the fulness of the world which we experience in daily life and in exalted moments. So far so good. But the conclusion he draws is that, since the physical sciences can give us nothing more, we are thrown back upon mysticism for whatever insight and knowledge we can ever have of "reality." As though the only alternative to knowledge provided by the physical sciences was mysticism! What has become of all the other sciences in this view, especially the psychological and the sociological? What has become of that non-mystical method of achieving knowledge which we all practice in everyday life but which is not knowledge by way of any of the sciences?

Mr. Eddington himself in his calmer mood has seen the danger of his mystic way to religious "truth" and has shown what moonshine it makes of all religious belief when belief is committed to it, although in other moods he seems to forget this. These are his words: "Granted that physical science has limited its scope so as to leave a background which we are at liberty, or even invited to fill with a reality of spiritual import, we have yet to face the most difficult criticism from science. 'Here,' says science, 'I have left a domain in which I shall not interfere.' I grant that you have some kind of avenue to it through the self-knowledge of consciousness, so that it is not necessarily a domain of pure agnosticism. But how are you going to deal with this domain? Have you any system of inference from mystic experience comparable to the system by which science develops a

knowledge of the outside world?" (He always confuses science with physical science.) "I do not insist on your employing my method, which I acknowledge is inapplicable; but you ought to have some defensible method. The alleged basis of experience may possibly be valued, but have I any reason to regard the religious interpretation currently given to it as anything more than muddle-headed romancing?"¹

There you have it! Muddle-headed romancing is what religion becomes unless there is some defensible method for distinguishing between truth and error other than the claims of mystic or religious experience taken as bare data.

THREE is a defensible method for distinguishing truth from error besides that of the physical sciences. It is Eddington's failure to note this other method which makes his work such a source of confusion for thinking on religious matters. This other method is a commonplace and ancient one. The method of the physical sciences is simply a highly developed and elaborately refined version of it. In some form, less technically rarified than in the physical sciences, it is found in all the sciences. And it is found outside the sciences in all the arts of everyday life in so far as these ever achieve any reliable knowledge, which means in so far as these are ever conducted with intelligence. Let us note some of these ways of life outside the sciences where this untechnical but reliable method of achieving knowledge may be found.

Human life is never lived within the bounds covered by all the sciences. Following are examples: Winning and serving and keeping a friend and cultivating deeper communion with him; the achievement of a profound community of heart and mind by a married couple after years of life together; learning how to tie a bow tie when peering into a mirror; finding the shortest route to town; understanding the heart of a child and helping him to attain his best. These undertakings are arts, not sciences; but if they are to be conducted intelligently they must have some knowledge at their disposal. And this knowledge must be attained not by way of mysticism and not by way of physics alone nor any of the sciences alone, however much these may help, but by observation, theory-forming, implication and experimental testing. Even a bow tie seen in a mirror requires something of this—as everyone must know who has not forgotten his first attempts. The problem-solving involved in the conduct of a friendship or married life or child rearing or political administration must perforce deal with masses, and delicate nuances of experience not amenable to strict scientific treatment. But that does not mean that we must fall back upon mysticism for the proper conduct of them. We can and must em-

¹ A. S. Eddington, *The Nature of the Physical World*, page 339.

ploy the methods of observation to get the knowledge we require in these arts.

This method might be analyzed in five steps somewhat as follows: (1) Formulate a theory on the basis of prior observations. (2) Ascertain what must be observable, and under what conditions, if the theory is true. (3) Find or create those conditions under which the phenomena should be observable if the theory is true, then make the observation to see if they are. (4) Ascertain what must be observable, and under what conditions, if the theory be false. (5) Find or create these conditions under which the phenomena should be observable if the theory be false and make the observation to see if they are.

Nothing is so dear to the wayward, wishful, lazy human mind as to be allowed to throw off all responsibility for constant, careful observation and experiment and trust itself to the voluptuous guidance of mystical intuition. But that way leads to madness. The conduct of these most important affairs cannot be scientific in the strict and narrow sense. But it must be scientific if by that one means that the guiding and controlling and testing of beliefs must be through observation of conditions and consequences.

Yet there is something more to religion than knowledge or belief. There is something more than ceremonies and institutions and moral practices. The root of religion underlies all these. All these grow out of this root as trunk and branches and fruit of a tree grow out of its root. What is this root? It is a passionate devotion. It is self-dedication. At its best it is complete self-dedication. To what? To something we do not know.

How is that possible? How is it possible to give ourselves in passionate devotion to something we do not know? To some it may seem impossible but that is precisely what men are forever doing. Some are unable to do it without assuming a degree of knowledge they do not have, which is illusion; but others are brave and clear-eyed enough to admit their ignorance. For example, many a scientist dedicates himself with passionate devotion to the quest of a knowledge the nature and content of which he does not know and in great part never knows. Many a parent dedicates himself to the fostering of the utmost possibilities of a child without knowing what those possibilities are. Surely if the scientist can commit himself to the quest of an unknown knowledge and a parent to the unknown best of a child, the religious man can commit himself to the unknown best that reality affords.

RELIGION is man's endeavor to attain the supreme good by conforming his life to that upon which he believes himself to be ultimately dependent for its attainment. This supreme good is not neces-

sarily a unique quality or kind of good. It may be the maximum totality of compatible goods. That is what we believe it to be. It is the most inclusive system of satisfactions having the greatest degree of mutual support and mutual enhancement.

That upon which we are ultimately dependent for its attainment is the progressive organization of the world by which such a system is achieved. This progressive organization could never have reached its present level without human effort, human intelligence, human sacrifice and self-dedication to it. It cannot, so far as we can see, reach any higher level without this human contribution. But it is not solely and exclusively a human affair. Here is the humanistic error. While man is one indispensable factor in it, he is only one. There are many other factors. Furthermore, a great part of human life, perhaps the vastly greater part, is not contributory. By far the greater part of all that men think and do is probably not a part of this progressive organization at all, but rather obstructive and destructive of it. Therefore it is a great mistake to identify this progressive organization with humanity or human life. It excludes much of human life and it includes much which is not human. This process of progressive organization, which takes up the best of human life into itself while including much more than human prediction and control, is God.

The supreme good is precisely the consummation of this progressive organization. The consummation is an expression of God as truly as the present stage of progressive organization. Therefore when we identify God with that progressive organization of the world which yields greatest value, God is not purely instrumental. While he is efficacious and in that sense instrumental, he is also consummatory. He is the supreme good in present potentiality and also in ultimate consummation.

THIS progressive organization of the world must not be confused with the scientific concept of evolution. It must not be confused with any concept formulated by any special science for its own purposes. It is a moral and spiritual matter even more than it is physical and biological, although it is inevitably these also.

We must have beliefs about God as present and actual and also beliefs about that unattained consummation which is the fulfilment of the present and actual process. These beliefs may be more or less descriptively true or symbolically representative. But they must be held tentatively, experimentally. Whether they are true or not, we must have them, for they are all we have to work with. Without beliefs of some sort we can not make the first move toward intelligent effort of service and devotion to God and the good.

But we must constantly correct and develop these beliefs until they become more true or begin to be somewhat true. Also, whether they are true or not, we must and we can and we do commit ourselves wholly and passionately to the service of this progressive organization which is God with its ultimate, perhaps its infinite, consummation called the supreme good. We do this even when, due to our ignorance, our efforts run counter to the progressive organization of the world. For even error, when it is tentative and experimental, as all our beliefs and efforts should be, is a form of loving service to God, to truth and to the good, just as every sincere and earnest and open-minded experiment is a form of service and of devotion.

In this great enterprise the physical sciences have their part to play. But it is a part which has been unduly magnified by the precocity of these sciences.

But, some may object, suppose this unknown good is not worth the cost? It is true this is a cruel and ghastly world. But the horror does not obliterate the good. The good as well as the evil is a matter of common experience. We do not know what may be the total character and content of the good, but we know that it is. For him who loves this unknown

good and dedicates himself to it, there can be no question of its worth, however poor and meager it may be. That such is the case let anyone testify who has loved a child or any precious object more than all else. The object of love and self-dedication, especially if it is the best that can be, is always worth the cost. "A poor thing," said Touchstone, "but mine own." If it should prove to be a grand thing so much the better.

But to no man is the supreme good worth the cost as long as he tries to make the progressive organization of the world serve him. Only after he has dedicated himself to its service can life be worth the living. In this sense must everyone be born again. Otherwise it is the drug of illusion which alone can sustain for him the zest of life. For children, and through all of life up to this second birth, illusion is indispensable. Fortunately for children life is all illusion. Some never dare to their dying day to venture beyond the bounds of illusion, else black despair will seize them. Only he who is born again may pass beyond these bounds dauntlessly.

Who can stand such heroic religion? Perhaps not many. It may be only a chosen few. But that is enough.

The Future of the Tariff

LYLE W. COOPER

EVENTS preceding President Hoover's election seemed to establish the firm hold of the protective tariff policy in the United States. It was to be expected that Mr. Hoover in his campaign would strongly endorse high tariff rates, for the creed of his party permitted no alternative. Governor Smith, as the spokesman of the Democrats, traditional advocates of a tariff for revenue only, did not question in principle the protective policy. In this, he correctly interpreted the Democratic platform. Repeated assurance was given the electorate by the Democrats that they did not propose a general tariff revision and that nothing would be done to the existing duties which would "take a nickel from the American wage-earner's pay envelope." A few minor differences concerning the tariff between the two old parties did exist. They were not in agreement relative to the proper organization of the Tariff Commission, and there may have been significance in the failure of the Democrats to sponsor higher rates as a cure for whatever economic ills might develop. But despite this there is justification for the commonly expressed opinion that Democrats and Republicans were in essential agreement on the tariff.

The attitude of the parties may be assumed to have represented majority public sentiment. How substantial was this majority is evidenced by the Democrats' willingness to acquiesce in the soundness of protectionism. Various factors enter into the explanation of this apparent heresy, chief among which is the industrialization of the South. This Democratic stronghold, with textiles and other manufacturing expanding rapidly, no longer views the protective tariff with a jaundiced eye; the situation was different when the South was almost exclusively agricultural and it appeared that there might be an opportunity to import duty-free goods from Europe rather than to import the products of protected industry from the Yankee North. Again, it would have been bad strategy for the managers of the Democratic campaign to attack the Fordney-McCumber Tariff as a device for "robbing the consumer." Unfortunately, the consumer evinced no consciousness of being robbed. And, clearly, any attempt to persuade him otherwise—during a period of "Republican prosperity"—would have been uphill work. No, under the circumstances the tariff might be utilized advantageously by the Republicans but hardly by the Democrats. The logic of

the Republican argument, in brief, amounted to the contention that since high tariff rates and prosperity had existed side by side, obviously, the latter was caused by the former and, further, as "any school boy could see," still higher tariffs would bring still greater prosperity.

Incidentally, in all of this, the respective party managements were much concerned with raising the requisite millions of dollars to "educate the voters." And it is noteworthy that the millions needed came mainly from individuals interested as producers, although much of the final incidence may rest on consumers. In this search for dollars, the most vitally concerned groups of producers—protected industries—were, naturally enough, benevolently disposed toward the Republican party. And so, with the Democrats convinced that during such piping times it was necessary to put on an expensive show, wisdom made advisable a soft-pedalling of the tariff issue. Otherwise, dollars which could be won with skillful salesmanship might be frightened away. In fact, so complacent were the Democrats with the theory of protection as practiced by the Republicans that one of their announced objectives was to devise means of "making the tariff effective for the farmer."

A NOTABLE addition occurred in 1928 to those groups which were united in a general chorus of approbation evoked by the protective tariff. The newcomer was America's Wage-earners Protective Conference, comprising twenty-odd international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Conference represented 250,000 working people and under the leadership of Matthew Woll, vice-president of the Federation, asserted that sundry revisions (upward) in tariff rates ought to be enacted by Congress to the laudable end of safeguarding the "American standard of living" against the products of "cheap foreign labor." Examination of the economics of this view need not be entered into here. Irrespective, however, of the wisdom of the stand taken by the Conference, there is significance in this new group advocating higher tariffs: organized labor possesses not inconsiderable political influence, and under the guidance of Mr. Woll the Conference may, conceivably, grow in membership and prestige. During its first year, Conference representatives have been active in expounding their aims before Congressional committees. The Federation of Labor itself remains neutral on the tariff, a policy adopted early in its history in response to the fear that such a "political" issue would be a disruptive force within the Federation. But in spite of continued Federation neutrality, political possibilities exist in the establishment of the Conference. One recalls that the Federation has never endorsed a Republican can-

didate for the presidency; that, beginning with Bryan's first effort in 1896, until La Follette stood for election in 1924, the Democratic candidate has always received support; that in 1928, although a majority of labor leaders are understood to have favored Smith, it was regarded as inexpedient to endorse either Smith or Hoover. It is probable that a factor contributory to the inability to decide officially whether Hoover or Smith had been more "friendly to organized labor" was the formation of America's Wage-earners Protective Conference—together with the circumstance that an effort was being made to prepare the way for the appointment of Matthew Woll as Secretary of Labor in Hoover's cabinet. Whether or not the Conference played a leading role in determining the Federation's neutral attitude toward the presidential candidates, it is clear that this new organization of wage-earners supplies evidence of what has been accepted by many as conclusive proof of the protective tariff's impregnable position in the United States.

Among writers on international trade there is almost complete unanimity in agreeing that present and discernible future conditions make highly desirable drastic downward revision of the tariff. These same writers, however, evince almost as unanimous pessimism in their conviction that there is slight prospect for the needed re-orientation in policy. It is therefore with due respect for contrary opinion that the following considerations are offered in support of the view that a modification in our tariff policy in the direction of free trade may be anticipated in the not remote future.

THE United States has, we know, become a creditor in international trade. The war greatly accelerated influences which were working toward this outcome; whether, but for the war, the same result would have been realized in a relatively short time or in a long one, existing tendencies will probably not soon be reversed. As a creditor, this country will be under pressure to enable debtor nations to meet their obligations. This pressure, if it merely took the form of complaints and even of economic reprisals from the debtors, might be successfully resisted, for the United States is in a strong competitive position. Effective pressure, if it is forthcoming, is likely to be exerted from within the nation—not by idealists desiring to do good toward the rest of mankind but by major economic groups, including organized wage-earners as well as bankers and other business men. These groups, motivated by considerations of self-interest, will desire to see foreign nations sufficiently prosperous to permit them to keep up the payments on American investments. This state of affairs eventually makes for significant tariff modifications in the

direction of free trade. Although economic pressure ought finally to have its way, complete freedom is not likely to be attained very soon. The "social lag" in institutional change is a factor to be reckoned with: traditional modes of viewing an institution so revered as the protective tariff, even when subjected to the corroding influence of economic forces, cannot be altered in a day. But it would seem that protectionism, though bulwarked by the inertia of custom and by such an imponderable as the spirit of nationalism, will not be capable of resisting indefinitely underlying influences.

Some exponents of the efficacy of free trade, made skeptical by past failures of "reason" to win converts to their system, may point out that the case for commerce unfettered by tariff restrictions has not been altered basically by recent events in the United States or elsewhere. Therefore, the skeptics might maintain, any conclusion that economic considerations will necessarily assume a decisive role is unwarranted. While there is a measure of justification for such doubt, it does not take sufficient account of the fact that during a long period of American history a strong economic basis for the protective system has existed.

The case for free trade derives from arguments based on consumer-interests and, in the long run, these arguments are undoubtedly sound. The free trader also tends to assume that the interests of producers and consumers are identical. The fact, however, that the ownership of capital is greatly concentrated appears to supply the initial basis for the possibility of conflict in interest between certain producer-groups and consumers as a whole. Certainly, this condition obtains in the case of the owners of an industry dependent upon the protective tariff. And the opponent of protectionism does not give adequate weight to the interests of those producer-groups which, for "short runs" of perhaps years' duration, find it to their advantage to function under tariff protection. These groups often possess a political "pull" altogether disproportionate to their numerical importance, for they act in a concerted manner that "consumers in general" never succeed in exemplifying. Each producer-group adds to its political power by trading votes with similarly circumstanced groups until, it may be, combined special interests appear so large that a majority of the public is convinced that, as consumers, they stand to gain substantially through protective duties.

If his explanation is measurably correct of how "consumers in general," because of the fixation of some of them on their status as producers, come to oppose their own interests—or, because of passivity, to countenance a policy in opposition to their interests—then it is well to recognize that any marked change in attitude on the tariff is likely to occur in conse-

quence of a new situation confronting strategically placed producers. The ingredients of such a situation are present in the position of the United States as a creditor.

INTEGRAL to the processes which have brought the United States prestige as a creditor is the tendency for more manufacturing industries to be strong enough competitively to realize that protective duties are no longer essential to their existence. In addition, such leading industries as hosiery, agricultural implements, electrical equipment, automobiles, iron and steel and most of the shoe industry are so well established as exporters that they have a direct producer-interest in favor of freer trade. For, besides high duties inviting retaliatory measures abroad, the protective system in the United States makes difficult payment for commodities which American exporters are so anxious to dispose of, and therefore tends to restrict the volume of goods sold abroad.

The condition now developing is not new in demonstrating that international trade is fundamentally barter. For the United States, the new feature is that a different alignment of forces on the American side of the bartering process is being created. The original stimulus to protection came from manufacturing. But now a considerable proportion of the manufacturing industries have so outgrown the "infant" stage as to discover that the "home market" is inadequate. Allied closely to this is the increasing dependence of this country upon essential raw materials from abroad, a condition which carries with it the necessity of paying for these imports in exports to markets wherever they may be found.

The implications present in the new creditor status of the United States may not be clear to those "captains of industry" habituated to the view that the protective system is the foundation of their existence. But the pressure of economic facts should eventually affect their thinking and their policies. Doubtless this work of education will be promoted by international bankers, never, in the nature of the case, uncritical devotees to the protective tariff, and now, as indicated by their "Free Trade Manifesto" of 1926, outspoken advocates of moving toward the abolition of all hindrances to trade. It may be questioned whether the bankers of Wall Street "rule the country" in the dictatorial manner that some persons suppose. Equal error would result in imagining that there is little significance for international trade and the tariff in the frequency of huge domestic mergers promoted by banks that are deeply involved in foreign commitments, in the complete purchase or the securing of control by American corporations of foreign concerns, and in the annual flotation in the American market by banking syndicates of a net in-

vestment amounting to a billion dollars worth of foreign securities—a billion which represents in large part the purchase of American goods for export. Solvency of American investments abroad and the continued expansion of our commerce, it is being increasingly realized, cannot be achieved in the desired degree if protectionism remains unchallenged.

Perhaps popular opposition to many of the tariff increases contemplated in the proposed Hawley-Smoot Bill indicates the beginning of a fundamental shift in attitude toward the protective tariff. This opposition is ascribed by some observers almost entirely to the embattled housewives who come as close as possible to embodying that overworked abstraction, "the consuming public." But it would be a mistake to overlook a still more important body of producers, the farmers, who show growing awareness that the tariff, for them, is an extremely expensive form of protection. Again, as we have seen, the formation of America's Wage-earners Protective Conference is not without significance; even more to the point is the fact that the bulk of organized labor has remained indifferently aloof from the Conference. But in seeking the roots of opposition to the Hawley-Smoot Bill, sight should not be lost of the previously mentioned great aggregations of manufacturing and banking capital. Those who control this capital, for reasons of their own, in the struggle over the tariff prefer not to take the center of the stage. Cursory examination of the metropolitan and financial press, however, will reveal clearly how leading business interests view further attempts to hamstring international trade.

When one considers what appeared to be the state of public opinion during the campaign preceding the 1928 election, doubts recently manifested concerning the protective system give some cause for surprise. And, with influential vested interests demanding additional protection, it is too early to know whether the turning of the tide away from protectionism has definitely set in. Certainly, qualified judgment is in order when one recalls the widespread disapproval of the high rates contained in the Payne-Aldrich tariff—and with little opposition, the subsequent hoisting of the rates still higher. These later increases, however, are largely attributable to the fear, following the war, of great quantities of European goods being dumped on our markets. Paradoxically, the war may be credited also with setting in motion the train of events that has brought about the prospect of freer trade. For, by causing the United States to change rapidly from a debtor to a leading creditor nation, the war made it incumbent upon American investors abroad and those who are bound up with them, which includes most of the population, to think realistically with regard to the new feature in our national economy.

In fact, the possibility exists for the United States to exemplify the theory of Friedrich List, the famous German advocate of the protective system, who maintained nearly a hundred years ago that the protective tariff is merely a means to an end, free trade. The "cosmopolitan" ideal of List may be difficult of attainment for many nations—so difficult, contrary to his expectations that, once protected industries secure a firm grip in a naturally unsuitable environment, they are not easily dislodged. But the United States with its abundance of natural resources, great tariff-free domestic market permitting the economies of large-scale production, and with its people increasingly attracted to foreign trade and investment, appears no far from ripe for the tangible expression of List's doctrine. Traditional American veneration for the tariff may delay the outcome but is hardly likely to postpone it altogether.

This analysis, while implying a degree of economic determinism, is not intended to be fatalistic. Economic tendencies may call for certain policies, but whether opportunities thus presented are taken advantage of or fumbled, the policies adopted are a product of intelligence or the lack of it. Particularly in the matter of the danger of war, human controls can do much to avert disaster. Just as the causes of war are largely economic, so the incentive to avoidance spring from the need for protecting and promoting economic interests. Success or failure of war-controls doubtless depends to some extent on the formulas worked out by diplomats. But even more, results will be governed by the presence or absence of an active public opinion desirous of control. This also holds for the protective tariff, an institution which, like war, is fostered by suspicion of the foreigner that is easily kindled into hostility.

To the extent that efforts at world peace achieve results, the movement for striking off trade shackles will be greatly strengthened. It is equally correct that gains toward reciprocal willingness to carry on commerce unobstructed by tariff walls pave the way for the world-pacification desired. Proponents of peace, in their contemplation of leagues of nations and treaties of amity, should not overlook the part played in their scheme of things by perhaps prosaic but nonetheless vitally influential economic arrangements concerning world trade.

Notice

An index of the 1929 issues of THE WORLD TOMORROW has been prepared and will be sent to all libraries free of charge. Individual subscribers who wish copies may obtain them upon request.

With Gandhi at Sabarmati

KIRBY PAGE

WHAT'S happened to that fellow Gander—Gandy—or some such name, who used to give so much trouble? You never hear of him any more."

This inquiry came from a Member of Parliament while the Spinner of Sabarmati was lying in prison some years ago.

"Poor old Gandhi, he's a back number now," declared an English lady who has resided in India for thirty years.

This opinion is reflected in Gandhi's own testimony: "I know too that I am not keeping pace with the march of events. There is therefore a hiatus between the rising generation and me. I look a back number in their company."

It is undoubtedly true that youth no longer follows Mahatmaji as in former days. The younger generation for the most part rejects his mediæval economic policy and doubts the efficacy of non-violence. The Moslems in large numbers are lukewarm or hostile to his leadership. The more extreme nationalists are impatient with his cautious tactics.

Yet the President of the Indian National Congress exclaimed: "There is no second! He is in a class by himself."

These words came in response to my question as to whether Gandhi still exercised much political influence. He had said, "Unquestionably, the Mahatma stands first among the political leaders of India." And when I asked who was next in rank in political power he replied, "There is no second! He is in a class by himself. Far beneath him stands a group of leaders, but no one of them rises conspicuously above the others."

It should be remembered that Mr. Gandhi was elected President of the National Congress for the current year but declined to serve. Scores of influential Indians expressed the opinion to us that the Mahatma is still the most powerful figure in national politics. Certainly he has been at the forefront in the councils of the leaders of all parties who recently issued a manifesto in reply to the Viceroy's pronouncement.

Gandhiji remains an enigma and his course of action cannot accurately be predicted. He responds to "hunches" or intuitions. It may be that he will be a silent observer of the proceedings at the Lahore National Congress and then retire into the background. Or he may lead the country in another campaign of non-violent non-coöperation and civil disobedience.

Because I hold the opinion that he is likely to adopt the latter course of action, I was extraordinarily eager to talk with him.

Mr. and Mrs. Eddy and my wife and I spent three memorable days with Mahatmaji. We had three long interviews in addition to many fleeting contacts with him during our stay, in spite of the fact that he had been away on tour for three months and was to leave again within a week.

We arrived at the Ashram on Monday, which is Gandhi's day of silence. Beginning at seven o'clock every Sunday evening, he observes absolute silence for twenty-four hours. This period is spent in rest, meditation, and writing his weekly contributions for *Young India*. Two of his friends met us at the Ahmedabad railway station and drove us four miles in a Chevrolet to our destination. Gandhiji received us with a most hospitable smile but was unable to converse with us until later. We spent the day talking with members of the colony or community and in observing their various activities. At seven we attended corporate worship. The entire company sits in the sand overlooking the river, under the open sky. After the chanting of the evening prayers, Mahatmaji broke his silence and talked on a devotional theme. Then followed the daily business meeting. As the roll was called, each person reported the quantity of his or her spinning for the day. This was succeeded by a half hour's discussion of a proposed new daily schedule of meals and other activities. We could not understand what was being said but were intensely interested in watching the proceedings. With the utmost good humor and patience Gandhiji brought out the various points of view, until some forty persons had taken part in the discussion. No vote was taken but a unanimous agreement was reached.

Mr. Gandhi then invited us to his own quarters. He seated himself on his bed in the open garden where he sleeps, while we occupied a nearby bench, and there we talked for about an hour. Standing about the bed and the bench were a score of his co-workers, listening eagerly to the conversation. It was a picture we shall not soon forget. On the following afternoon we were invited to his office. In accordance with the Indian custom, we removed our shoes at the door and sat on the floor. He was working away at his spinning wheel. For an hour and a half we talked politics. He expressed himself with the utmost frankness concerning the present situation. The spinning seemed to be an almost automatic per-

formance and did not in the least interfere with the conversation. On his busiest days and even when on tour he always spins for at least an hour. The next day we again talked for more than an hour while he went on spinning.

THE four of us felt that we were in the presence of one of the noblest spirits of the age, if not indeed the greatest man now alive. A frail little body, weighing less than a hundred pounds, he wears a minimum of clothes, usually going nude to the waist, with his feet bare except for sandals when outdoors. His ears are large, his teeth are in wretched shape, his head is shaved, and yet you do not think of him as homely. He eats only fruit and nuts and drinks goat's milk. Arising at three or four o'clock every morning, he is an indefatigable worker. Rarely alone, he does much of his work with a crowd about him. Methodical in his habits, he is as punctual as a clock. His mind cuts like a razor. He expresses himself with brevity and clarity in the purest of English. Body and mind are subjected to an extraordinarily rigorous discipline, yet there is no trace of austerity about him. On the contrary, he is the most jovial of persons. Following the evening meal he usually takes the children for a walk. Ascetic in spirit, entirely selfless in his conduct, sacrificial in his devotion to the masses, Mahatmaji has captured the imagination and won the devotion of more millions of human beings than any other person for many generations.

Previously we had had the good fortune to find Rabindranath Tagore at his Calcutta home. Later we are planning to spend three days with him at Santiniketan. Although in frail health, the poet talked with us freely for an hour concerning a wide range of questions. It was a benediction just to be in his presence.

AT Allahabad we were entertained by Sam Higginbottom and Jawaharlal Nehru. The former is well known for his agricultural institute. The latter is President-Elect of the Indian National Congress, the annual gathering of the largest and most important political party, ex-President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, and leader of the Youth League of India. His father, Motilal Nehru, who was President of the Congress last year, was away on tour but we expect to meet him later. The Nehru family is very wealthy and lives in a palatial mansion. Father and son disagree drastically in many of their opinions on social questions. Jawaharlal is more radical in his political and economic ideas. He is a socialist, not a communist as is often asserted. A graduate of Harrow and Cambridge, he has been brilliantly prepared for leadership. He is seeking to organize students and workers for more efficient ac-

tivity in the campaign for independence from Great Britain on the one hand, and from the landlords and industrialists, on the other. Favored with a magnetic and lovable personality, Jawaharlal kindles audiences and crowds wherever he goes and is the idol of Indian youth. So passionate is his revolt against the reactionary customs and cruel practices of conventional religions that he calls himself an agnostic, although it would be difficult to discover many men in any country who possesses his untiring zeal for public welfare. From the tinge of sadness in his countenance, it is apparent that he is suffering intensely over the miseries of his people. That he is honest and sincere is admitted even by his most vigorous opponents. Next to Gandhi, or perhaps even more so, he is the man most feared by the British Government. The name of Jawaharlal Nehru will appear prominently in the news from India during the coming months, for his star is rising rapidly.

FROM the Nehru home we went direct to the Viceregal Lodge in Delhi, where we were entertained at luncheon by Lord and Lady Irwin. We were deeply impressed with the personality and attitudes of the Viceroy. Everywhere he is held in high honor and is trusted as few Viceroys have ever been. After luncheon he invited us to his private office and there unfolded to us some of the difficulties with which he is confronted and discussed some of the plans he has in mind. I have no doubt whatever that the Viceroy and the Labor Government intend to do the wise and generous thing for India. They are, however, faced with two sets of obstacles: they lack a working majority in Parliament and are therefore compelled to move cautiously in order to carry a portion of the Liberals and Tories with them; and, secondly, they must deal with an impatient and embittered public opinion in India.

The tragic truth is that a considerable proportion of educated Indians have lost confidence in the British people. Suspicion and enmity are distressingly prevalent, and old residents here say that the tide is still rising at a perilous pace. The ancient tradition of British fair play is rapidly being shattered. British promises are no longer accepted at face value. Even those Englishmen who have served India faithfully and sacrificially are often objects of abuse and derision. C. F. Andrews is probably more highly honored and more deeply beloved than any other foreigner in this land; yet two Indian journals recently launched vicious attacks upon him, one count in their indictment being the fact that he had dined with the British Ambassador in Washington! Reminders of the incalculable contribution that Britain has made to India's welfare are impatiently brushed aside or met with sneering references to British hypocrisy and

greed. Gratitude toward alien rulers has never in all history been an outstanding characteristic of subject peoples who are passionately seeking freedom. Not until responsible self-government has actually been achieved will most Indian nationalists be in a mood to trust the British or to acknowledge India's debt to them.

THE effect of the Viceroy's statement last November has been in large measure dissipated by the debates in Parliament. At present sentiment is undoubtedly swinging rapidly to the left. Unless the four conditions of the Delhi manifesto—(1) the granting of an amnesty to political prisoners, (2) the admission that the Round Table Conference is to be assembled for the purpose of framing a Dominion Status constitution rather than to discuss when it is to be granted, (3) the selection of a preponderant number of delegates with the Congress mind, and (4) the exhibition of a new spirit on the part of the government—"are as good as met by December 31, 1929," Gandhi will join the independence group and lead the country in a campaign of non-violent non-coöperation.

Moreover, Gandhiji will not call off the campaign even if, against his wishes, individual acts of violence are committed. He believes that the Labor Government lacks both the will and the power to grant complete Dominion Status. He will be satisfied with nothing less than Dominion Status without reservations. He desires to see British soldiers and a British commander-in-chief retained in India for a number of years, and to have the British Government temporarily continue the direction of foreign policy and the relations with the Indian States; but all this must be done at the invitation of the self-governing Dominion of India, subject to its control and to be terminated at its discretion or in accordance with a previous agreement.

In response to our question, "Why not attend the Round Table Conference and hear what the Government has to offer?" Mr. Gandhi replied: "The answer is incredibly simple. If they mean business why not convince me, who can not make a private statement to a few representative Indian leaders? If Mr. MacDonald would wire the Viceroy a definite promise of Dominion Status at the Round Table Conference and send a pledge that the Labor Government would stake its political life upon that promise, I would be satisfied and would be willing, if necessary, to fight the National Congress single-handed. I think I could pledge the Congress to attendance at the Round Table Conference and full coöperation in working out the policy of complete Dominion Status without reservations. This assurance should be in writing but could be kept entirely private and not be passed on to any others besides the small group of Indian leaders to whom it

is communicated by the Viceroy. This delegation might even be confined to one or two leaders. If some further word is not received from the Government, the Lahore Congress will certainly declare for complete independence and launch a campaign of non-coöperation and civil disobedience."

Mr. Gandhi and other Indian leaders with whom we have talked freely admit that under self-government there will undoubtedly be a much greater degree of inefficiency and corruption. They foresee a period of chaos and possible bloodshed. But they are prepared to face the worst conditions that can be predicted rather than to prolong the present status which they regard as humiliating, demoralizing and intolerable. They, therefore, dismiss as irrelevant the question as to whether or not India is fit for self-government. They say if necessary they would prefer to go to hell as citizens of a free nation rather than to dwell in paradise under British rule. To be "eaten up by the hordes from Northwest and Central Asia," says Mahatma Gandhi, would be a position infinitely superior to one of ever-growing emasculation . . . a sudden overwhelming swoop from Central Asia . . . would be a humane deliverance from the living and ignominious death which we are going through at the present moment." So intense is the longing for freedom and so bitter is the hatred of alien domination that British rule in India is certain to become less and less efficient. It can be prolonged beyond another decade only by the bloody sword. Nothing is more certain than that India will achieve self-government within the immediate future or—one hesitates to contemplate the outcome.

IT is easy to sneer at the Indian National Congress, as is the fashion in Anglo-Saxon circles out here, and say that it represents a mere handful of India's three hundred millions and that the masses are utterly indifferent to politics. It is beside the point to say that the revolt against British rule is confined to an infinitesimal minority. When in human history did the populace at large ever support a revolutionary movement until it had already achieved success? Slavery and serfdom were not abolished by collective action on the part of slaves and serfs. The group of Indians who are determined to win freedom for their nation is already sufficiently large and vocal to make life simply intolerable for British rulers if responsible self-government is not granted at an early date.

India obviously cannot gain freedom by war. But other methods are available. The non-violent, non-coöperation movement led by Gandhiji in 1920 and 1921 very nearly succeeded, as British officials have since admitted. In desperation the Mahatma may again summon his people to a program of non-coöperation. More than 30,000 Indians gladly went to prison

during the former campaign and an even greater number may again crowd the jails of the land. A more terrifying prospect is that the policy of non-violence may be rejected and a campaign of rioting and assassination resorted to. Already there have been an ominous number of political murders and riots. Some of the strongest trade unions are being influenced by leaders who openly advocate the adoption of revolutionary tactics. If another General Dyer, under the sway of the military mind-set that law and order must be maintained at any cost, should again shoot down in cold blood hundreds of Indians as was done at Amritsar, the situation might easily get out of hand all over the country and the terrible scenes of the Mutiny be repeated. After all, there are only 165,000 Britishers in the whole of India. An inflamed and infuriated nation of 320 millions cannot permanently be ruled by British bayonets.

There are drastic differences of opinion as to how serious would be the results if the Lahore Congress should decide to begin non-coöperation and civil disobedience. One group maintains that nothing significant would happen, that at most there would be occasional riots which would easily be put down, that

the few non-coöoperators who refused to pay taxes would only lose their property and find themselves in jail, and that the vast majority of Indians would entirely ignore the non-coöperation movement. The other group contends that the country is better prepared for non-coöperation now than it was in 1920 and 1921, that the volume of bitterness and hatred against Britain has increased enormously, and that repressive measures on the part of the Government would only fan the flames. Mr. Gandhi is to be found in the latter camp. He told his co-workers recently that the anticipated campaign early next year would be his last great crusade and that he expected to put every ounce of his energy into it. The National Congress, the organized workers, the students, and Mahatmaji—this is a combination of opponents that I would not care to have arrayed against me if I were Viceroy of India! To grant complete Dominion Status at this time would undoubtedly be a dangerous procedure; on the other hand, to withhold it may prove to be far more perilous.

I expect to be on the sidelines at the Lahore Congress and in these columns a month hence I will give my impressions of this momentous gathering.

Arguments Against Socialism*

JOHN E. EDGERTON

(For his valuable suggestions and contribution of material, the author of this article wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Noel Sargent of the National Association of Manufacturers, New York City.)

IT is obviously impossible to analyze completely the doctrine of Socialism in a very limited space, and, like Mr. Thomas, perhaps, I must necessarily confine myself to the "high lights" of the subject. Socialism may be opposed either by pointing out its own demonstrated weaknesses or by defending the capitalistic system against its attacks. I shall confine this article to an analysis of the fallacies and failures of Socialism, relying on the Marxian ideas upon which both the Socialists and Communists base their arguments.

Fallacies in Socialist Theory

(1) The Socialist exaggerates labor's share in production, and especially the part played by manual labor. The Socialist Party platform of 1916, for example, declared that "Labor is robbed of the wealth it alone produces." What has caused the enormous increase in physical production in this country in the

past thirty years despite a decline of about 18 per cent in individual hours of labor—a decline occurring, it must be noted, under capitalism? It has not been the primary result of increased skill or ability on the part of the average worker. It is chiefly the result of new or improved machines and processes, installed by management—the representatives of capitalism.

(2) Under Socialism incentives to wealth production are removed. The true social goal is not *equality*, as the Socialists proclaim; some Socialists—George Bernard Shaw, Annie Besant and Robert Blatchford, for example—even advocate equality of income as the chief end and accomplishment of socialism. The case for capitalism rests on the inherent and demonstrable proposition that individuals differ not only in innate ability, but also in their ambitions and applications of energy, from which it follows, we believe, that they should be rewarded in accordance with these individual differences and resulting accomplishments. (*Skelton, Socialism—A Critical Analysis*, pp. 212-214.)

The frank advocate of Socialism will not deny that Socialism would destroy private property in all means of production and distribution. Thus the foundation-stone of modern Socialism, the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, declares:

* This article and the one by Norman Thomas which follows conclude our series on "Approaches to a New Economic Order." Reproduction limited to 300 words. This series will shortly be published in book form.

"The theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property."

(3) The materialistic conception of history, upon which modern Socialism is based, is an incorrect theory. Engels defines it as "that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into classes against one another. . . . The final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought . . . in changes in the modes of production and exchanges." Marx and Engels believe that struggle for the material means of life controls the development of society.

(a) Neither now nor in the last can man's life be entirely reduced to economic terms. Every act, says the Marxist, has its ultimate cause in the material interest of the individual or the group. "When the Eskimos are at the same stage of development at which they were ages ago; when religions like Christianity and Mohammedanism come into existence without antecedent alteration in the mode of production in the countries involved; when a regime of slavery yields in Athens a Plato and Aristotle, a Sophocles and Phidias, and a marvelous blossoming out of civilization is general, but exhibits no such manifestations in contemporaneous Sparta or with any other nation under a similar economic regime; when India and China are thousands of years older than the European countries but are vastly behind hand in economic development—we are not witnessing slight modifications of effects produced by the system of production and its dialectic; we are rather dealing with evidence of the sustained operation of other forces which, in defiance of the mode of production and its dialectic, consistently produce results of their own. Marx's theory is important to account for historical processes, and the reason is that he failed to ascribe sufficient weight to the many non-economic agencies in history." (Bober, *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History*, pp. 289-290.)

(b) Even where economic influences have helped to shape history they have not "been exerted only through the medium of class struggle. . . . Just as the economic field is not as wide as human life, so within this field class struggle is not the sole form in which the influence of economic conditions is exerted. . . . In great part men share in common the influences of their economic environment. It is only within a limited portion of the economic field, where interests conflict, that the economic factor can be said to spell divergence of class interest. Within this limited sphere, again, it is by no means inevitable that divergence of class interest will entail class struggle." (Skelton, pp. 110, 111.)

(c) Where economic interests do diverge, the con-

flict is not confined to the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. "Men's economic interests are rarely single; in the complexity of modern industrial society their relations are not confined to a single other group; they cannot be classified solely from one viewpoint. The strata are many, the cross-sections innumerable. Geographical division, occupational interest, color and racial differences cut athwart the symmetrical lines of the class struggle theorist." (Skelton, p. 112.)

Marx predicted the disappearance of the middle class, leaving only the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, which would struggle until only the latter survived. But the middle class has grown and prospered; Marx's prediction here was as wrong as his doctrine as to the increase of misery among the workers, who, on the contrary, have in a capitalist society enormously increased their living standards since the days of Marx. Kautsky, leading German advocate of "scientific" Socialism, in 1898 admitted, and we must consider this in connection with recent American extensions of capitalist ownership:

"If capitalists are on the increase and not the propertyless, then the development is setting us back further and further from our goal, then capitalism intrenches itself and not Socialism, then our hopes will never materialize."

It is always easy to criticize but difficult to construct; the theories of Marx, the basis of modern socialism, are like the house built on the sands, for the rising tide of historical research and actual events have toppled their foundations.

Failures of Socialist Practice

SOCIALISM has seldom been tried on a grand scale until the Bolshevik regime in Russia. But it has been tried on a lesser scale in numerous instances—socialized communities and groups, public ownership or control (sometimes both) of business enterprises. We find the following instances—and failures—of efforts to establish Socialistic communities in the United States: The Owen movement, beginning in 1824; the Fourier Movement, introduced in 1842. Ten Owen communities were started; for two no particulars are available, but none of the remainder lasted over three years. Thirty-four Fourier Socialist communities were started. Of these exact information is available for twenty-five, the longest of which lasted eighteen years.

We also find that the similar Saint-Simonian and Icarian utopian experiments, mostly in foreign countries, were failures, as was Lane's New Australia.

In short, "whenever the stimulus of individual and family interest was withdrawn, disaster followed, except in the few cases where religious fanaticism and monastic discipline supplied a centripetal force in substitute." (Skelton, p. 93; he cites the Socialist Hillquit as saying the sectarian groups succeeded because

willing to discard communism, which was only a secondary incident in their religious experiments.)

The Russian experiment has been illuminating. That it is *Socialistic* as well as *Communistic* admits of no doubt; in fact, Socialism and Communism strive for the same Marxian goal, though they differ on the methods and strategy which shall be used in getting there. The Bolsheviks have found that the pure Socialist theory does not work, but resulted in agricultural decline and industrial extinction; that it has been necessary to make one concession after another to capitalist theory and practice in the guise of various "new economic policies"; that the mixed Socialist control—Socialist *cum* capitalist practice can only be kept alive by continued dictatorship. But even stern dictatorship has been unable to prevent a serious decline of labor discipline in the socialized industries, a problem becoming increasingly serious (*Russian Economic Notes*, March 22, 1929; April 19, 1929). In the railway industry the situation is grave; there were 9,932 accidents in 1924-25, and an increase to 17,000 in 1927-28 (Ibid., May 17, 1928).

According to *Investia* of November 20, 1928, Soviet socialized enterprise controls 44.8 per cent of total industrial output; 78 per cent of merchandising turnover; 90.7 per cent of "the middlemen's business." It is plain that when efficiency is most necessary—in the vital field of production—Socialist industry has had to concede the greatest scope and opportunity to private enterprise.

In Germany the Socialists assumed complete power in 1918. Lacking any constructive program—have our American Socialists anything to offer except criticism of all that is?—they were forced to confess that the existing system of private enterprise must be retained for the present, in order to restore production and trade; this report was made December 10, 1918, by a committee of twelve distinguished Socialists, with Karl Kautsky as chairman. What can we conclude but that private enterprise can better meet problems of disturbed trade and industry than public enterprise?

A STRIKING example of what happens under Socialist rule is furnished by Queensland, Australia, which State has a population of a little over 900,000. At the elections early in May the Socialist (Labor) Government was overwhelmingly defeated after fourteen years in office—fourteen years opportunity to put Socialism into practice. What were the results of the Socialist rule, results against which the voters finally rebelled?

(1) The state railways in fourteen years accumulated a deficit of \$85,000,000. These roads are largely built for development purposes and are not expected to show immediate or direct profits. But under the Socialist rule they were overmanned and mismanaged. In the last pre-Socialist

year the Queensland state-owned railways showed a profit of \$240,000 as compared with a loss of \$8,250,000 the last Socialist year.

- (2) House rents trebled.
- (3) Cost of living quadrupled.

(4) In the twelve years before Socialist rule the production of butter and cheese increased 224 per cent; in the next twelve years by 95 per cent.

(5) Private wealth increased 30 per cent the twelve years before Socialism; 17 per cent the next twelve years.

(6) Industrial production increased 126 per cent the first period and 75 per cent the second.

(7) Savings banks deposits increased 135 per cent in the pre-Socialist period and only 46 per cent in the Socialist era.

(8) The cost of unemployment relief rose from \$780,000 in 1923-4 to \$2,060,000 in 1927-8.

(9) Socialist rule does not promote agricultural development and prosperity; in land settlement from 1910 to 1914 there was a net increase of 27,104,000 acres; from 1923 to 1927 there was a net increase of 532,000 acres, over a half million more acres being forfeited or surrendered than were selected by settlers.

Perhaps the reason for repeated failure of Socialist state enterprise is seen in the following remarkable admission by Mr. McCormick, defeated Labor Prime Minister:

"Labour had been unfortunate, not because there was anything ethically wrong in the control of the State, but because they had not been given fair play by the people engaged in the industries. The people employed from top to bottom had not given them the fair go they gave to private employers." (Daily Mail of Brisbane, April 6, 1929, italics mine).

Religious Aspects of Socialism

IN considering the relation of Socialism to religion we are considering no particular form of positive religion. There are certain basic principles or beliefs underlying all the branches and divisions of Christianity, and it is the relation of Socialism to these principles and beliefs that we will examine.

Many of our Socialist friends tell us that Socialism "has absolutely nothing to do with religion." They say, "The attitude of individual Socialists has nothing to do with the question: Would you condemn the beliefs of the Republicans because Ingersoll was an agnostic, or the principles of Democracy because Jefferson was an atheist?" This argument is ingenious, but proves nothing. Ingersoll never said that Republicanism and religion were as fire and water, nor did Jefferson ever say that his political and spiritual, or non-spiritual, beliefs were diametrically opposed. But many of the great minds, the men who are leaders of Socialism, do say that to Socialize is to de-Christianize; that Christianity and Socialism are incompatible.

We have the express official testimony of the Socialists themselves that there is a conflict between Socialism and Christianity. The statements which are

here given are not the result of a laborious hunt for the extreme utterances of obscure men. They are taken from the authorized publication of the principal Socialist organizations and leaders. These organizations and leaders combined comprise "international Socialism."

The writings of Socialism—especially of its founders—advocate "scientific" Socialism—a doctrine based on the materialistic conception of history. This idea as laid down by Marx and adopted by his followers is that all things are a natural result of evolution, with no guiding spirit.

According to Socialist doctrine it is inevitable that there can be no spirit, but only matter and motion. Consequently there can be neither God nor divine Providence; man is devoid of an immortal soul; all hope for a better future in a life to come is utter folly. Socialist leaders never tire of repeating that the materialistic conception of history is the foundation principle of modern "scientific" Socialism. The very essence of this historical materialism is incompatible with, or rather subversive of all true religion. The principle of historic materialism on which Marxian or "scientific" Socialism is founded is opposed to religion because it denies the existence of a Supreme Being. Again, it cannot be denied that Socialism preaches class-war, class-hatred; is not the principle of class-war contrary to Christianity? Socialism and Christianity are as opposed as darkness and light.

Karl Marx, the founder of modern Socialism: "Religion is a fantastic degradation of human nature." "Abolition of religion is necessary for the happiness of the people": which, according to Marx, was the aim of Socialism.

William Liebnecht, another founder of modern Socialism, a movement which can truly be said to have been "Made in Germany", when editor of "*Der Volksstaat*", published in 1875 an essay on "The Materialist Basis of History," in which he said: "It is our duty as Socialists to root out the faith in a God with all our might; nor is any one worthy the name who does not consecrate himself to the spread of atheism"—a plea in the name of Socialism for atheism.

Frederick Engels, with Marx one of the prophets and founders of "scientific" Socialism: "Beyond nature and men there exists nothing." As a consequence, "under Socialism, religion will be forbidden."

August Bebel, who died just a few years ago, was for over forty years the leader of the German Socialists. Said Bebel in the Reichstag, September 16, 1878: "I am firmly convinced that Socialism fully leads to atheism." In the same body on February 3, 1893: "We Socialists are against all authority, both heavenly and earthly." And in *Vorwaerts*, in 1901, he wrote: "Christianity and Socialism are like fire and water."

Paul Lafargue, one of the leaders of French Social-

ism and a son-in-law of Marx, said: "The victory of the proletariat will deliver humanity from the nightmare of religion."

Vandervelde, the leader of Belgian Socialism, is quoted in *Social Democrat* of January, 1903: "We are bound to admit that both in philosophy and politics there must be war between Socialism and the Church."

The Communists of Russia have so openly declared and practiced the hatred of religion that their position is known to all the world. The principle is stated thus in "The A. B. C. of Communism" by Bukharin and Preobraschensky: "Religion and Communism are incompatible, both theoretically and practically."

Dr. Herron, prominent American Socialist, the first representative of American Socialism on the International Socialist Bureau, declared: "The Church is simply organized Christianity. For Socialism to use it . . . is for Socialism to take a Judas to its bosom."

I HAVE quoted from numerous and widespread authorities to show that Socialism and Christianity, according to the Socialist leaders, are absolutely incompatible. But, says my Socialist friend: "You certainly have shown that many great Socialists think that Socialism and atheism go hand in hand. These, however, are only the opinions of individuals and I could mention many Socialists who are God-fearing, thoroughly religious individuals. The personal opinions of others about Socialism have no binding force and prove nothing." Let us see. Socialism as a collection of principles is the product of human brains—located in the skulls of the men I have quoted. The founders and originators of modern Socialism tell us that the principles of religion cannot exist if Socialism prevails. When we want to know about anything we go to the authorities—and certainly the utterances of the leaders of the Socialistic movement as to what it really means are the most authoritative source of information we possess.

The next argument in rebuttal that may be advanced is that American Socialism can lead its own life, and that the utterances of foreign leaders, even of Marx, Engels, Liebnecht and Bebel, have nothing to do with the beliefs, principles, or meaning of Socialism in the United States. Not so! Socialism is an international movement, having most of its strength and its greatest leaders in foreign lands. American Socialist platforms have affirmed its international character.

The Socialist movements of Spain, Austria, France, and England have avowed the inherent antagonism between Socialism and religion. In the United States, however, the Socialists rely on their 1908 Chicago platform which declared: "Socialism does not concern itself with matters of religious belief." But it was only after a Star-Chamber session that this plank was adopted by the overwhelming majority of 79 to 78.

The proceedings of the 1908 convention reveal that many of the seventy-nine admitted they voted for the plank simply because they thought it would gain votes; many who opposed it in the secret session voted for the plank afterwards.

Present professions of neutrality toward religion by Socialists are contrary to Socialist theory and the specific statements of its founders; those who profess this belief are either ignorant, deceived, or deliberately spreading "molasses to catch flies."

Conclusion

Socialism is condemned by these three tests—

(1) It has no sound and constructive theory of economics;

(2) Being unsound in theory we would naturally expect to see the failure of Socialism when its practice is attempted;

(3) Socialism is inherently opposed to the principles of religion upon which individual comfort and salvation and national social welfare are finally dependent.

Socialism Upheld

NORMAN THOMAS

TO the man on the street, at least on Main Street, U. S. A., the word Socialism for all its triumphs in the world still calls up a curious jumble of wild and fantastic pictures. The Socialist wants to divide up everything mechanically. The Socialist is an impossible idealist. The Socialist is a man of violence who would destroy God, home and country. The Socialist is any sort of radical. Socialism, Bolshevism and Anarchism are synonymous terms and to the average American, until very lately, one could easily be a Socialist-Bolshevist-Anarchist, which in point of fact is as difficult as to be a Methodist-Catholic-Unitarian. This last fact is slowly beginning to dawn on the public by reason of the vehemence of Communist attacks upon Socialists.

In its broadest sense Socialism is the doctrine that land, natural resources, and the principal means of production and distribution should be socially owned and democratically managed so that production should be for public use rather than for private profit. Socialism is international in outlook, but Socialists would employ political action and the machinery of existing states to achieve their end. Socialism owes an enormous debt to Karl Marx, but Socialism is not identical with Marxism and it may be questioned how orthodoxly Marxian any of the great Socialist—or Communist—parties is today in action. That, however, involves theological dispute for which there will be little space in this article. That there should be differences of opinion among Socialists is natural and inevitable. Those differences of opinion, principally with regard to the tactics of social change, were so sharp that they resulted in the cleavage between Communists and Socialists—a cleavage of such importance that we shall have to return to it later.

It is becoming fashionable to admit a spiritual sickness in American society which is sometimes laid to the door of "prosperity" and sometimes to the "machine age." (The critics rarely wish to renounce their own share of prosperity or to give up the use of machinery.)

Actually the spiritual and cultural deadness of our Middletowns—and there is plenty of Middletown atmosphere over our great cities and our countryside—is not due to the machine but to our failure to see the significance of the machine, if rightly used, as the conqueror of poverty and the bearer of burdens which long have bowed the backs of the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. It is not due to prosperity but to the lack of true prosperity and the essentially unfair distribution of what we have.

THIE basic fact with which any indictment of our social order must start is the presence of bitter poverty in a nation equipped with machinery and resources to create plenty for all. Under a system which protects as far as possible the private ownership of property for power and its management for profit we neither produce enough property for use nor distribute fairly what we produce.

Our failure to produce enough has received classical analysis in Stuart Chase's *Tragedy of Waste*. Because we do not plan for the common good at least 50 per cent of human energy is wasted: wasted in idleness, in the production of "illth" rather than wealth, in uncoordinated activities, in the destruction of essential natural resources. The toll of the unemployed chronically or seasonally runs into millions, hungry nations divert their energies and wealth to armaments and superfluous luxuries, there are several times as many factories, mills, and mines of various sorts as we need to produce the particular goods required; and the destruction of forests and natural gas has become a byword.

True, so tremendously productive is the applied science of modern times that despite these wastes there is greater wealth than ever before. But its division is a travesty on all notions of brotherhood, fellowship or elemental justice. In 1927 two hundred and eighty-three persons reported—despite lawyers and tax experts—incomes in excess of one million dollars. The

number will probably be greater when the 1928 figures are published because of the huge Wall Street prosperity and the fortunes made in stock market gambling. About that time in the city of Chicago, by no means a low wage city as American cities go, a survey showed that seventy per cent of the heads of families of unskilled workers made less than enough to support their families as well as charity societies support those dependent upon them. Forty per cent of those families do not receive as much as the charity societies would allow even when others than the heads of the families work. In the summer of 1928 the Federal Census Bureau gave the average wage in the great Southern textile industry as \$12.83 weekly. In that same summer the number of bankruptcies among farmers, the increase of farm tenancy and the low money return to farmers, compelled national attention and the passage of a law which, whatever the merits, is not likely to make farmers as prosperous as stock brokers or the gentlemen of our economic dynasties who prudently picked their grandfathers. But then farmers only grow food while stock brokers sell something, often something they haven't got, and high powered salesmanship is the glory of our civilization.

The most reliable estimates of wealth and income in the United States are as follows:

Distribution of wealth

one per cent own	33 per cent of wealth
ten per cent own	64 per cent of wealth
poorest 25 per cent own	3½ per cent of wealth

Distribution of income

one per cent obtain	20 per cent of national income
ten per cent obtain	40 per cent of national income
poorest 25 per cent obtain	3½ per cent of national income

THIS gross disparity of income based on no logical difference either in ability or in social usefulness does not tell all the story. There is the dreadful insecurity of our industrial civilization. One-third of our people sixty-five years and over are wholly or partially dependent on charity. The number of unemployed we do not know anything like as accurately as we know the number of pigs, but it runs in the millions. Technological unemployment has grown so fast that in seven years from 1920 to 1927 there was a net loss in employment in excess of half a million.

Such are some of the economic consequences of the scramble for profit and the principle of private ownership of prosperity for power. Land speculation based on private ownership adds nothing to the national wealth; yet gains to individuals arising out of the diversion to private hands of economic rent on the value of land which is a social creation have been estimated to amount to fifty billion dollars, all of it sluiced off from the great stream of real wealth. I have never

seen an estimate of the profits accruing to the lords of credit. One banker is reported to have become wealthier to the tune of \$11,000,000 in a single day by the rise of bank stocks that he owned.

The device of stock ownership which has undoubtedly played an immense role in the development of modern capitalism has resulted in an even more complete divorce between ownership and that responsibility which to earlier thinkers justified ownership. Such recent developments as investment trusts and the wide distribution of stock increase the irresponsibility of absentee owners and the power of a small group of insiders. Men literally speculate in stocks—which means in legal ownership—of companies without knowing or caring what the company makes so that it makes money. Witness the adventure of Representative, very representative, Dyer of the "show-me" state of Missouri who bought stock in Hiram Walker, Inc., in entire ignorance that it made whiskey until it began to lose him money!

That this essentially crazy system works as well as it does is due to the enormous technical advance of our times and to the skill and fidelity of workers in general and the managerial and engineering groups in particular. These men are the key men of modern civilization and as Thorstein Veblen has pointed out the real social revolution will have come when they work for society as they now work for absentee owners. What they can do when they thus work for society instead of the often conflicting interests of profit takers is shown even within the framework of our present economic order by such conspicuous examples as the Ontario Water Power development, the Panama Canal, the public health service, the continuing work of the Federal Bureau of Standards, the New York City Water Supply, the Holland Tunnel, the Port Authority of New York, to name only a few cases taken almost at random.

BUT before we consider the significance of these newer methods we must examine, briefly, at least two other charges against our present order. The first has to do with the essential denial of individual liberty and genuine democracy in a system where a comparatively small class owns the land, the resources, the tools and the jobs that the rest of us need. "Who own the earth will rule it" is axiomatically true. By cajolery and coercion the American plutocracy has gone far toward making American political democracy a disguised dictatorship and still farther toward destroying our older ideals of civil liberty and even of justice. In my contacts with my countrymen I am far more impressed and depressed by the extent of fear than of poverty. Basically the root of this all-pervading fear which makes Babbitts and Robots of us is economic—fear for the jobs we have or hope to have.

Ordinarily it is not necessary for a master class to use the whip, but the history of every great strike, the post-war hysteria, the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, the damnable delay in giving freedom to men of proven innocence like Mooney and Billings, the Centralia case, the admitted fact that there is one justice for the rich and another for the poor, one for the white man and another for the Negro, show to what lengths our rulers upon occasion will go to preserve their profits and power.

Too often by cajolery they make the workers partners in their own enslavement. This they do through their ownership of all the means of communication and information as well as of the two major parties which are the instruments of political action.

I do not mean that democracy, liberty, or justice are sick unto certain death here in America. Indeed I am often surprised at their vitality in face of their obvious incompatibility with an economic order which is essentially autocratic and exalts special privilege as if it were a virtue. Neither do I mean that any form of society will ever automatically give us liberty. I do mean that the very basis of true freedom is denied along with fellowship in the kind of social order we have described. Freedom depends on fellowship and fellowship requires coöperation in place of exploitation.

The same social order that denies freedom makes war far more likely than peace. The basis of true peace is not the prevention of war but the organization of a world community to which peace is natural because of the essential harmony of that community. That harmony we do not and cannot have under a system of "every man for himself and devil take the hindmost." In line with the ethical incompatibility of peace and exploitation is the specific and admitted fact that wars in general, and the World War in particular, have been economic in origin. The last war arose as the next one will arise if our efforts for a better system are futile—from the clash of rival imperialisms. Imperialism is born of the union of capitalism and nationalism. In an interdependent world where we have not yet learned to coöperate, the rivalries of dominant groups in strong but not self-sufficient nations for markets, for capital, for goods and sources of supply for raw materials lead to war. The workers are hypnotized into supporting these rivalries under the religion of nationalism.

There is, indeed, an optimistic belief springing up that a growing internationalism of capital will prevent such war. I have not space to discuss this hope at length except to say (1) that it seems probable that capitalism has given too many hostages to nationalism to cut sufficiently loose from it to establish a real capitalistic internationalism, and (2) that if it should succeed in this task it will be at the price of establishing such a dictatorship as will solidify the hatred of ex-

ploited classes, nations and races and make class struggle mean class war.

HERE we come to the great significance in Socialist and Communist thinking and tactics. Both admit the danger of war. To the Communist it seems inevitable. Increasingly Communists look to world war rather than any other form of capitalist collapse to bring the revolutionary moment.

By contrast Socialists, without as a rule committing themselves to renounce force or even violence under certain circumstances, are more and more committed in action to the effort to avert particular wars while struggling to change the system which is the mother of war. The way of peace is the way of democracy. It is also the way of compromise which carried too far may endanger the end sought—a risk which Socialist parties in power or on the verge of power may not duly consider.

It lies beyond the scope of one article to argue the question of the inevitability of war at all adequately. The argument of inevitability rests on pressing historical analogies and present rivalries, not to a warning of the danger of wholesale catastrophe through war, but to an absolute and inexorable determinism. I do not think such catastrophe inevitable. If it is I see no hope for mankind. For salvation through the kind of catastrophe which wholesale war on a modern scale and with modern methods implies is a Utopian dream. The survivors of such a war, fought with poison gas and lethal rays rained down from airplanes upon cities and countryside will be as the sick in the kingdom of the dead, unfit by their passions and their suffering to shape the world into a federation of coöperative commonwealths. War means dictatorship but there is no guaranty at all that it will not be the dictatorship of Mussolini rather than Lenin. The Socialist advances against the Communist on the one hand and the militarist on the other. Socialism is the way of peace.

SOCIALISM offers three indispensable things in the forward struggle of mankind.

The first is a faith, a hope, a philosophy. In recent years Socialists and the more advanced of the pragmatic liberals have come fairly close together in their immediate programs. Socialism has the immense advantage of offering an ideal, a philosophy of social control and the dignity of labor which even in its least dogmatic form is one of those great generalizations by which as Dean Inge well says men live.

The second thing that Socialism offers is a program. Fortunately or unfortunately society is not like a watch which we can stop while we repair it. It is a living thing which must be re-educated. We have to keep the trains running while we relocate the termi-

nals and rebuild the tracks. Even in the great experiments under the absolute Communist dictatorship in Russia, men and their social institutions have not been revolutionized over night. On the other hand our present order is not so rigid but that perforce it has had to admit a fairly steady extension of social control not only of education and health but of economic processes—especially as the World War showed, in the unsocial business of carrying on war! To some examples of highly competent engineering in the service of society we have already referred. There is a basis on which to build.

To work out an adequate program of building requires far more effort than has yet been spent and is a tremendous and stimulating challenge to the informed and constructive imagination of our generation. American Socialists generally would agree that such a program would include these elements:

1. The preservation and increase of civil liberties, including the right of labor to organize, strike and bargain collectively.

2. War against insecurity and poverty by social insurance against old age, sickness, and unemployment, by a nation-wide system of employment exchanges, by the use of public works in dull times to provide employment and by the shortening of the working week to assure the workers the benefits of technological progress. To these measures should be added family allowances supplemental to the basic wage.

3. Socialization of key industries and services beginning with those in which already the engineer is more important than the entrepreneur. These would include public utilities, especially the power industry, coal mining, banking. The form and degree of social control might vary. In every case administration should be non-political or functional. This has long been a corner-stone of Socialist thought, contrary to the repeated allegations that "Socialists want Congress to run everything." Coal mining, for instance, should be administered under a directorate representing producers and consumers. Such provisions would minimize the dangers of bureaucracy and the top-heavy state. Co-operatives should be encouraged and agencies like the Federal Bureau of Standards made to serve the consumer who now buys by the pictures and poetry of advertising instead of by specifications and scientific test. Finally there should be a central planning board, similar to those improvised in the war into the Russian Gosplan.

4. In order to provide money for increased governmental service and to aid in a more equitable distribution of wealth, taxation should fall principally on land values—which society should take since it creates them—income, and inheritances. The two latter should be graduated. Inheritance taxes should be used to break up our existing economic dynasties.

DOUBTLESS to achieve these objects would require some changes in our political structure. These changes Socialists desire to make in the light of knowledge, not as ends in themselves, but as means to efficient democratic control.

The greatest danger to Socialism is that in using the national state as an agent of Socialism it will insensibly become too nationalistic. Hence the importance to Socialism of a foreign policy not only for averting wars and promoting disarmament, but for fashioning the machinery of a world community which to be real must take account of such economic issues as the allocation of raw materials.

This progressive program of constructive change can only be carried out if behind it is the third thing that Socialism offers. That is organization. Such organization, as I have indicated, cannot be solely political. It must include labor unions, farmers' organizations, consumers' coöperatives. Indeed, every sort of organization great and small must minister to the new social attitudes if our purpose is to be achieved. But in America there is peculiar need for a party with a philosophy and a program of service to the Socialist ideal. For years Socialists have made it plain that they are not fighting merely for a name and that they will welcome any militant farmer-labor party which if it moves at all must move on Socialistic lines. But the fact remains that since the collapse of the La Follette coalition movement only the Socialist Party offers even a rudimentary national organization. It is the pioneer and teacher for whatever larger mass movement may arise. As such it is entitled to a degree of support which it has not had from men who share its general aims. We shall not be saved by a political Messiah but by building our own party. The sooner we begin the better.

Sonnet After the War

NEVER another dreamlessness like this
 Will mock our hollow entrails, pressing harder
 Than all the febrile agonies of bliss,
 Robbing despair of its palliative ardor.
 Never again can passion run so cold
 And still with unfulfillment; nor the hope
 Of youth drop through the dark to where the old
 And bitter and benign have ceased to grope.

O let us get down and hug the aching ground,
 And kiss the burdened faces of the rocks,
 Forgetting the day we judged the earth bereft
 And strove to make the new the orthodox,
 Seeking the mouldy truths that they had found,
 Finding the stagnant lies that they had left.

CLIFTON CUTHBERT

Not in the Headlines

Denmark's Pacific Women

The Danish section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has 12,000 members out of a population of three and a half millions.

Another Gain for Pacifism

The German Peace Society has reorganized its program on an absolute pacifist basis. In the event of a war breaking out, the German Peace Society will oppose it in every way by refusing to serve or take any part in it.

Jewish Philanthropy

More than \$51,000,000 were given by American Jews during 1929 in public benefactions, according to the figures published in the annual Who's Who Issue of *The American Hebrew*. This amount includes only gifts in sums of \$10,000 and over. The gifts are listed under five heads: educational benefactions, \$15,780,000; civic benefactions, \$13,760,000; international benefactions, \$1,760,000; Palestine emergency fund donations, \$7,025,000; bequests \$11,543,-000 and the \$500,000 which was Daniel Guggenheim's gift to aviation for the year.

Unrelenting Holland

An average of twenty young war resisters are constantly in prison in Holland, according to the War Resisters' International. Prison treatment seems to have stiffened recently. Two of these pacifists who entered prison in perfect health have died from neglect, and another became mentally affected after spending five months in "solitary" in a cell which had been condemned for its unhygienic condition. The following war resisters in the Bijzondere Strafgevangenis, Scheveningen, Den Haag, Holland, will be glad to receive postcards and letters: Teunis Barelds, Henk Meeldyk, Bas Roschar, H. de Wit, H. Bouma, Wim Honing, Fred van Sluis, Jan Dyken, Geert van Oorschot, Wim Weteling and Messrs. Hekert, Mulder, and Jubega.

Russia and Its Pacifists

The Russian war resister Mazourin, about whose case appeared comment in THE WORLD TOMORROW, has been treated better in the asylum to which he was committed than in prison, and has even been permitted to go home on leave. Several other war resisters were released during the summer. The Soviet Government, however, has by direct orders broken up the Moscow Vegetarian Society which was formed in memory of Tolstoi and which has been in existence for twenty years and has maintained a feeding centre and a children's home. An appeal to a higher court is planned. Efforts are being made to campaign among pacifist bodies for support to the program of military defense. Over a thousand pacifist sectarians were compelled in 1928 to do arduous civil labor under the most primitive living conditions because of their refusal to take up arms, and continuously they were besieged by patriotic and military arguments. About one hundred gave in, but the rest did not.

Publishing Maimonides

Plans have been made by the American Academy for Jewish Research to bring out the complete works of Moses Maimonides, one of the great minds of the twelfth century.

Girl Scout Discrimination

In Portland, Oregon, three Negro girls, pupils in one of the city grade schools, applied for membership in a Girl Scout troop and were rejected. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People protested against this discrimination, pointing out that the scout organization had been granted the use of public school buildings and must therefore give full equality of treatment to all pupils. The school authorities were found to be in accord with the N. A. A. C. P. position in the matter.

Women's Suffrage in Japan

Women's suffrage according to *International Gleanings from Japan*, will again be proposed in a bill to be presented to the Imperial Diet this winter, and this time with apparently much greater chances of success than in the past. A similar bill was presented to the last session of the Diet, supported by the Minseito, the present Government Party and part of the Seiyukai but was defeated, due to a split in the latter party, many of its members fearing the opposition of the House of Peers.

Birth and Death Rates

According to the Census of the Department of Commerce, the birth rate in the United States dropped from 20.7 per 1000 of estimated population in 1927 to 19.7 in 1928. In 33 of the 38 states for which comparative figures are available, the birth rates fell during 1928. The infant mortality rate increased from 64.6 per 1000 of estimated population in 1927 to 68 in 1928, the highest rate, 142.2, occurring in Arizona and the lowest, 46.9, in Oregon. The general death rate ranged from 11.4 per 1000 population in 1927 to 12.3 in 1928, the highest, 14.5, being found in California and Mississippi and the lowest, 7.4, in Idaho.

Countries without Capital Punishment

A pamphlet by E. Roy Calvert, author of *Capital Punishment in the Twentieth Century*, published in England and distributed in the United States by the League to Abolish Capital Punishment, 104 Fifth Ave., New York, gives extremely valuable data on the countries in which the death penalty has been abolished. The briefest possible summary of this material indicates that the following countries have either legally done away with capital punishment or else have allowed it to be abrogated by disuse: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Italy, Lithuania, Norway, Portugal, Roumania, Sweden, Argentine, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. In Queensland, Australia, the life-for-a-life policy was abolished in 1922, while in substantial parts of Germany, Switzerland, and eight states of the United States it has also been made illegal.

A Different Employer

*The Story of William P. Hapgood**

THE most outright, forthright experiment in industrial democracy yet attempted by any American employer is probably that of the Columbia Conserve Company in Indianapolis—and William P. Hapgood is its prophet. This canning factory is as much a laboratory in social experimentation as is Edison's in electrical discovery and invention. It is demonstrating a faith in the inherent integrity of the average man, even though he is a workingman of the type that is usually paid low wages and worked long hours, and it is demonstrating that the average of the so-called laboring class can, in a school of industrial enterprise, work on a coöperative basis and not only make it pay, but make it pay more.

I say Mr. Hapgood is its prophet. He will not care much for that characterization. His mind works in the open and labels are repugnant to him, above all any that smack of the conventional or pious. He has no dogmas; the words coöperation and industrial democracy mean a process rather than an accomplishment. He is a man of good-will who is experimenting rather than preaching. He does not despise preaching, and he does it well, but he does not like to have it called that; he rejects the word because it puts his talking into a category with so much that is mere rhetorical, impractical doctrine. He is a social engineer engaged in a piece of industrial experimentation. A factory is his laboratory; men, machines and markets are his materials; and his hypothesis is that industrial democracy will work if the preconceptions of the arbitrary, profit-motived system can be replaced with social faith. If this factory has any slogan it is "industry of the workers, by the workers, for the workers."

BILLY HAPGOOD was born with the metaphorical silver spoon in his mouth. His father was successful and he was endowed with a goodly fortune, a Harvard degree, a pair of illustrious brothers, a cultured wife and help-meet, and he needed nothing more than average ability, a cautious business method and the mentality of the Hon. George F. Babbitt to ride fortune easily. His brothers are writers and W. P. used to say it was his job to make the family fortune pay the bills when the "literary fellers" failed to make ends meet. He called himself the "runt pig" of the family in that he was not a scholar and a literary man like his brothers. In Harvard he was one of the cham-

pion yachtsmen; his love of nature and out-of-door life could have made a cultured social semi-parasitism quite congenial, and the world to which he was born would have envied him and called him blessed.

He chose a farm, a manufacturing plant, an army shirt and a small cottage, and plays the game with the tools of the field and factory workers. Yes, he is playing a game all right, and it is a big game, but its goals are not surrounded by crowds and instead of cheers there are jibes from competitors. In Indianapolis, business men used to call his factory "the rocking chair" cannery—the council meetings were made comfortable with plain wooden rocking chairs. He was once proposed for a place on the board of the Family Welfare Society but was rejected by the benevolent gentlemen who composed it because he had "dangerous ideas about the conduct of industry." I asked him if he ever went to Chamber of Commerce meetings; he replied that he once did attend but finding he was looked upon as a "nut" he felt more comfortable at home—he was willing to be a "nut" if that is what experimenting in human engineering requires, but he did not feel it necessary to have the implication "rubbed in."

After a forum in a certain western city the chairman said "we will not all agree with Mr. Hapgood, but we will all say he is a Christian gentleman." "That," said he, "was disgusting. I would rather be called anything else, excepting a scab." Now of course he is a Christian gentleman and with emphasis upon the qualifying word besides, but he resented the classification just because it is the conventional characterization of a certain type of chap, who, while he neither drinks nor beats his wife nor uses bad grammar, may exploit his workers, unite with his fellow lords of industry to beat down labor unions, vote with the corrupt political machine because it stands for "big business" and in general "play the game." If being a Christian gentleman consists in conventional churchmanship, money contributions, graceful living, the peccadillos of etiquette and dress, all supported by an arbitrary system of business organization in which one person orders and many obey, one hires and fires and many suffer, one takes the profits and many take whatever they may happen to get in wages and working hours, then Mr. Hapgood is not even a gentleman, let alone a Christian. But if it means following that way of life, without pretense or ostentation, which the Nazarene carpenter pointed out, then he is both—quite unorthodoxly both.

* One of a series of biographical sketches of pathfinders to a new society, published anonymously to permit greater frankness in treatment. Reproduction limited to 300 words.

AT the Columbia Conserve the time clock has been abolished, salaries have been substituted for wages, a council of workers sits in those seats of authority where boards of directors and executive committees usually sit, the workers elect their own superiors in management, discuss production and sales policies, fix their own pay, determine their own hours, execute discipline upon themselves and are rapidly becoming in fact, as they are already in authority, the owners of the plant. Every dogma of the arbitrary, capitalistic system has been disproved; every pre-conception has been challenged and found unwarranted. And the experiment has paid in dollars and cents; the profits have not only increased but they have increased amazingly—they were thirty per cent last year, the largest in the history of the concern—and that with the highest wage, the shortest day, the largest output per person, the best quality and the lowest sales price in the plant's history. Every line of the above spells efficiency, but efficiency without drive. The secret lies wholly in that spirit of willingness and eagerness to do well that comes out of coöperation, a chance at self-expression and a sense of partnership. The workers can furnish the same keen interest, the same sense of economy and the same practical desire to see the business succeed that the business man can, and to it they can add, when they become both business man and worker, an efficiency in work that no driver can induce.

Hapgood began the experiment twelve years ago. He built on faith—faith in the potential qualities of the average man. His motto, like that of Henry George, is "I believe in men." He had no illusions about the difficulties; things have come to pass rather more rapidly than he expected. He began with a council upon which sat three representatives of the owners and seven of the workers. This council was largely advisory but its decisions were acted upon in such good faith that confidence grew and the discovery of an adequate technique for discussion and action resulted in the council's being enlarged until now it includes all the continuous workers who care to qualify by regularly attending meetings. Mr. Hapgood and the other old stockholders have translated their stock into a non-voting category and the common stock, purchased by the workers, alone has voting power. He takes his place as a salaried worker, goes on the road for weeks at a time and council meetings continue on schedule. Profits are pooled and used to purchase the old Hapgood stock, upon which interest only is paid and which is then put into a pool of common ownership. The hours have been reduced from an average of 55 to one of 45, excepting only those few weeks in the ripening season for tomatoes, when, like the farmer's harvest, all hands must work overtime to obey nature's imperious mandate. During that season many temporary employees must be taken on, but their hiring, the fixing

of their wages and all else that concerns them is settled in the workers' council.

I have sat in council meetings, have visited the plant, have talked much with the president and others about the business, and the net conclusion to which I come is that Hapgood's function is more that of the skillful teacher than anything else. He is president and general manager by vote of his fellow workers, and so well aware is he that unless goods are sold they cannot be made that he spends many weeks each year on the road with the sales force, and he keeps up with every step in technical progress in the plant besides managing a big farm. Nevertheless his chief function is that of educator of the workers in the arts of coöperation. He does not teach by textbook nor by the lecture method; he teaches by demonstration. The workers meet, face the issues, discuss them, learn how to differ without feeling, to become tolerant and teachable, to change their minds under evidence and argument, to work out problems through weeks of study, to take chances on their own best opinions, to listen to the advice of the expert without compromising their own independent judgment, and to work together. Above all they get rid of the "inferiority complex."

WHEN asked once what had been his greatest difficulty, Hapgood answered cryptically, "To get rid of the Harvard starch." He had to become a common man himself in dress, deportment, fellow-mindedness and respect for his fellow workers though they had no schooling outside the hard knocks of common experience. But it meant more than that; he had to overcome, as far as it is humanly possible, the tendency to defer to him as the man of education, money and prior rights of ownership. He never will overcome that respect for his judgment which springs out of respect for him as the man who made the undertaking possible, but he absents himself enough to prove that things can run for long periods without him and that there is resident in the working group an ability adequate to the tasks of management. The question is often asked, "What will happen when Mr. Hapgood is gone?" Of course, only time can answer, but his own faith grows that things will go on as usual. The tenets of the doctrine of coöperation seem to be getting pretty firmly rooted in conviction, and the success of its practice has in this short time given answer to the fear that the acquisitive in the individual would overthrow the sense of the common good. The individual has found his largest profit in the common good and the acquisitive has been sublimated in self-expression and increased personality.

One of the first things done was to abolish wages and put all the regular workers on a salary basis. Wages are paid by the hour or day—salaries by the month. When the wage earner misses a few hours or

a day he loses his wage; when the salaried worker loses an hour or a day or two usually nothing is said about it. Then there is a social differentiation in the distinction between wage and salaried workers. The one belongs to denim and khaki and the other to white collars, and, as is usual, those who enjoy the best advantages demand and receive the best pay and the greater comfort. Along with the abolition of wages at the Columbia came the resolution that when work was slack in one department those who could should lend a hand wherever there was an overplus of work. Several of the office workers quit rather than labor with their hands in the cannery. The treasurer quit because he was in the small minority who believed in the hard-boiled system of arbitrary control. Some went gingerly to the kitchen and packing rooms in order to hold their places but their enthusiasm grew with the morale of the group. Then the council voted to send select young people from the ranks of labor to school to learn to become stenographers and book-keepers. Now the camaraderie is quite complete; social caste is banished; there is mutual respect between denim and linen and the habit of developing talent from among their own ranks is established.

A greater innovation is now nearing accomplishment. It is that of basing salaries on need rather than on ability to *get* under competitive system. First a minimum was fixed for all; next a differential was arranged to meet needs of family budgets over those of single men and women; then sickness and casualty insurance was added; now a specific provision for children is made, and discussion of the principle of fixing income on the basis of need is nearing acceptance as a principle. Such a move requires a complete break with the industrial world outside this factory. It is revolutionary in economics though exemplary in ethics, but it is being done in no utopian fashion—it has been worked out step by step and its human value has been proven thus far.

There is provision for social medicine at the Columbia and misfortunes are shared, but there is no specific unemployment insurance. Unemployment is simply put out of the reckoning by coöperation. If there is extra work then all work a little extra. Thus a steady income is assured so long as there is money to pay, and so far the more of such practical utopianism they have put into practice the more money there has been to pay the bills.

THE big family idea has replaced the big business idea, and it works. It works so much better that one of the biggest employers in the land, after examination said, "Why, of course, it's the better way, and it will pay better. But I am so constituted that my pleasure comes out of being the big boss, so I won't adopt it." This declaration more even than money

spells out much of that philosophy which clings to the arbitrary, old-time way. There are many who love to "boss," to govern and to manage their fellow-men; who like to say come and they come, and go and they go, and never in my life have I heard a sermon on the incident where a certain soldier told Jesus his house was not a fit place for such an one because he did those things. Even some churches want hierarchies of authority instead of brotherhoods.

In the council at the Columbia decisions are rarely made final by a mere majority. Unless the vote is overwhelmingly one way final decision awaits upon further discussion and the possibility of a greater common-mindedness. Unanimity is a state of group opinion adjudged to be worth a great deal of time and deliberation and talk. Majorities do not make right, nor are they much more often right than wrong. Caution rather than haste has proved to be characteristic of the workers' council, and a mistrust of their wisdom, rather than a conceit, has developed with the years of experience. This makes them good experimenters.



—From an etching by Bernard Sanders.

WILLIAM P. HAPGOOD

Democracy in this industry has not developed cockiness in those to whom a measure of authority has been given; it seems to have developed a sense of responsibility instead. The greatest task has been to get individuals to accept responsibility. Many a man from the ranks has demurred at promotion and few have shown an overweening ambition to express themselves in season and out in the council. The theory that to give the workers the right to elect their own foremen and superintendents would destroy discipline has not been borne out. In the twelve years eight men have been discharged by the council for refusal to obey foremen. Others have been "talked to," some reprimanded and given a last chance but only eight have proved intractable. Discipline is not wanting. A trade union usually manages the discipline of its members better than do open shop employers. I once heard Seebohn Rowntree say he would not be bothered with discipline when the workers, properly organized, manage it so much better than he could.

Morale is much higher under coöperation, once time is given to build morale, than under regimentation. Right now the Columbia plant is under study by experts in plant arrangement and management. The council is just as much convinced of the necessity of technical expertness as a board of directors could be and just because they are the workers themselves and the profits are theirs, technical efficiency has a better chance to work; they are willing to obey their own orders. In every way technical expertness, efficiency, economy in use of materials, care of machinery and personal devotion to the task have been bettered under workers' control. It is human nature to exercise greater care and give better service when you have a personal interest than when it is yours to toil and someone else's to claim the usufruct. Right here lies the secret of increased profits. Billy Hapgood says, "If we cannot convert the hard-boiled brothers, we can drive them to it by outdoing them."

HAPGOOD says that in these twelve years he has found more satisfaction than in the forty he had lived before. The casual observer would think he had put in twelve years of the most patience-trying work. Human nature is so intangible, so much a complex of motives, of suppressions, fears, aspirations and undefinable what-nots that those who seek to lead it out of itself and its unquestioned acceptance of whatever is as inescapable, require an infinite patience and a surpassing love of fellow-men. The average man accepts fortune as deserved and misfortune as an unavoidable calamity. Here is an employer—though now he is hardly that in any usual sense—who accepts neither concept; he thinks the luck that brings material fortune may be no more deserved than was that which gave him one as a heirloom, and he is sure penury

is seldom deserved. He believes a better social engineering could abolish poverty and should make great personal fortunes impossible. He believes there are undiscovered potentialities in the average normal human being to whom the fates have denied a share in the excess goods by which men live above their fellows. And he is no disciple of softness and soddiness; he does not weep over the woes of the less fortunate—he is too busy trying to discover a more equitable way of living together. He thinks it is difficulties, not ease, that educate mankind. So much does he think it that he himself works an average of twelve to fourteen hours per day and believes that when the workers own and manage their own plant they may, like the farmer, take joy in long hours because the work is interesting and profitable.

Where the conventional rich man gives of his surplus to relieve poverty, living the while himself in luxury, this rich man gives himself, helps the common man to provide for himself, experiments with a way of working together that will abolish all poverty springing out of a denial of opportunity, and takes pride not in a great plant that bears his name but in a group of fellow-men in whom the sense of *noblesse oblige* has replaced petty self-assertion.

To make a brotherhood out of a factory, to extend the bonds of family to a group of fellow workers, to challenge the arbitrary, profit-motived system, to discover a way by which the toilers can express personality, increase their own standards of living and become their own "bosses," is to justify democracy and brotherhood.

William P. Hapgood is lighting a pilot light for industrial democracy, and though he is not a churchman, he is giving a finer expression to that sense of brotherhood taught by the Carpenter of Nazareth than are churches which allow distinctions of class and culture to condition fellowship, and from whose pulpits the plea of the prophet for the rights of the least of these is never heard. His creed may be found in the words of Walt Whitman:

"I will accept nothing which others cannot have
the counterpart of on the same terms."

Sorrow

MORE than all beneath the sun
Sorrow seeks oblivion.
Guttering candles at the head—
Play the hymn, this grief is dead.
Sorrow that was born in pain
Has the right to sleep again.
More than you, and more than I,
Sorrow has the right to die

HELEN MARING

Clippings

We Go to Haiti

While we have repeatedly boasted of the "prosperity" brought to Haiti by the United States during the American occupation, the total exports of Haiti have declined about 12 per cent in value. Although last year was a good coffee year, a depression has now set in which has resulted in the bankruptcy of a number of firms.—*Editorial, The New Republic, December 18, 1929.*

Sanctions Unsanctioned?

During my recent visit to Europe, in numerous talks with political and other leaders of thought, I became convinced that a great change is taking place there in regard to the problem of sanctions. More and more it is being recognized that the philosophy of sanctions is in its essence the philosophy of war, and that putting into the same document the disavowal of war and "security" by sanctions of force is a fatal contradiction in terms.—*Salmon O. Levinson, The Christian Century, December 25, 1929.*

Yes, We Have No Prohibition

Senator Borah is quite right. The President's Law Enforcement Commission cannot inform us what the prohibition law is, for we know that, and nothing will really be done to enforce the law until there is a complete change in the enforcement personnel. We should add that there will be no real enforcement until there is absolute determination on the part of our highest officials to procure it. It all rests with President Hoover himself. He has now been ten months in office and there has been no change—*Editorial, The Nation, Jan. 8, 1930.*

New World Community

The machine, and the civilization it has created, has made of the world an economic unit where we are all indispensable members one of another. The world has in fact become organism. And one of the chief problems of the twentieth century is so to develop and perfect the world economic machinery that has already come into existence as to secure a larger measure of harmony, of justice, of honesty and fair dealing among all the various members of the new world community, be they large or small, strong or weak.—*John Herman Randall, World Unity, December, 1929.*

Mexico Goes to School

From Sonora in the North to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, from Tampico to the Pacific Coast, Mexico is founding schools. Not only children, but their parents, attend them; and there they learn not merely to read and write and carry accounts, but to live. For even the primers and arithmetic books of American primary schools are not of great importance to the rural masses of Mexico, in whose villages these schools are being built. Indians, for the most part, they have been neglected or exploited by the ruling classes until Madero's time, and they still live isolated lives amid disease, poverty, and stagnation. Years may pass before the three R's are as vitally important to them as is, today, sanitation, improved methods of working the soil, and a heightened consciousness that their lives may be both lived and enjoyed.—*James F. Jenkins, Review of Reviews, December, 1929.*

The Future of the Medical Profession

We are on the verge of an era of preventive medicine. Twenty-five years from now we should find doctors practicing 90 per cent preventive medicine, while remedial work should constitute only 10 per cent of their services. Unless the prevention of disease becomes the dominant practical idea of physicians and health workers, we shall lose the most magnificent opportunity ever afforded medicine to work for the improvement of humanity. . . . Humanity will be better served when the greater part of our effort is directed toward preventing sickness.—*Shirley W. Wynne, M.D., Survey Graphic, January, 1930.*

Continued Enlightenment

The majority of people still go to religious leaders for guidance, so that ministers more than any other group are in a position to help the mentally sick to get the right kind of guidance and help. Few champions of religion still claim to heal physical illness, for disease has long since been ascribed to other sources than the devil. The time is not far off—it has already come in the more progressive churches—when acts and attitudes once termed sin will be regarded as symptoms of mental illness equally in need of scientific treatment.—*Smiley Blanton, M.D., and Mary Howell Ross, Survey Graphic, December, 1929.*

Brailsford on Miracles

The impossible has happened at this Assembly: one seems to be watching the mediaeval miracle of the Pope's rod which budded. . . . In this one short month of September there will be more progress to record than in the five dreary years which preceded it. . . . The tempo of international life in Europe has changed beyond recognition. As I sat in the Assembly's gallery, I found myself recalling an inscription which adorns a fundamentalist church in New York: "Jesus is in this place: anything may happen." So, too, at Geneva one felt that anything might happen—even the United States of Europe. It was miraculous, after the long years of impotence which Tory England imposed on the League.—*H. N. Brailsford, New Republic, October 2, 1929.*

Radicals—Sane and Insane

There are two important differences between the sane and the insane radical. The sane radical in attempting to effect changes respects the elementary rights of human beings and safeguards those liberties which we have acquired after so many centuries of struggle and bloodshed; freedom of speech and of the press are not just empty words to him. The insane radical, in the process of attaining his object, tramples on the most elementary human rights and scoffs at "liberty" and life itself. The sane radical counts the cost: will not the change cause more suffering than it is worth? Is the game worth the candle? But the insane radical never counts the cost; incalculable suffering, oceans of bloodshed, hunger and overfilled prisons, as long as his principle triumphs. . . . As examples of sane radicalism I would mention Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, H. G. Wells, Norman Thomas, Harry Elmer Barnes, and the Editor of the *Critic and Guide*; as examples of insane radicalism I would nominate—but why become personal?—*Dr. W. J. Robinson, Critic and Guide, November, 1929.*

The Crisis in Austria

KASPAR MAYR

WHAT is really happening in Austria today? Although little detailed news has appeared in American papers, the European press has bristled with sensational, exaggerated accounts of an Austrian crisis—of a threatened revolution or an impending dictatorship. It is true that the situation in Austria has for some time been grave—as it is throughout all of Central Europe. But it would be erroneous to assume that the conflict is an artificial one created by a few extreme nationalists, ex-officers, and pre-war aristocrats who, supported by capitalists both local and foreign, are organizing the *Heimwehr* Movement simply to overthrow Socialism in Vienna and establish a political dictatorship.

The *Heimwehr* or Self-Defense Movement which has come to occupy so prominent a place in Austria, did not arise from a premeditated and well considered plan of one outstanding leader, as in the case of Fascism in Italy or the dictatorship in Poland. It is not like the *Stahlhelm* in Germany, a purely super-nationalistic organization designed to overthrow peace treaties by violence and to cultivate the war spirit for aggressive purposes against neighboring states. In the beginning it had no definite political aims. During the years of hunger and unrest after the World War, local groups, composed mostly of ex-soldiers, were formed in various parts of the country to protect the villages and rural districts, especially those adjacent to industrial centres.

Today members of the *Heimwehr* are no longer exclusively peasants and middle-class people. Here and there we find small groups of laborers, railwaymen, and tramwaymen, who formerly were Socialists, joining the *Heimwehr*. This is a sign that dissatisfaction with existing conditions is not confined to the farmers and middle class alone but is prevalent in all sections of the population. The élite of the *Heimwehr*, however, consists of the post-war generation: students, tradespeople and peasants, a fact which gives evidence of a conflict between the younger generation and those who have experienced the war and the revolution.

AS an organization, the *Heimwehr* has no common economic or political program. Almost all the leaders are extremists who consider the establishment of a dictatorship the only means of freeing the Austrian people from the present class warfare and of restoring through political coercion a "free" community. Furthermore, there is no doubt that capitalist interests—home and foreign—support the movement in order

not only to destroy the so-called factory terror and the dictatorship of the trade unions, but also to restore full autocracy to the employers and to do away with the social achievements of the revolution. Recently, however, leaders have joined who, according to their political views, claim to be sincere democrats who oppose the abolition of parliament and civil liberties. Honest opponents of Austrian Socialism, they hope by means of the *Heimwehr* to diminish the political and economic influence of the Socialists. The latter, they are convinced, have misused their power by terror, obstruction and violence.

It is evident therefore, that the members of the *Heimwehr* come from various classes, that they have no common political program and no outstanding leaders. They have joined the movement from widely varying motives—political, social, religious, and economic. What unites them all is the conviction that Socialism in the form in which it has developed in Austria since 1919 ("Austro-Marxism") must be overcome in order to restore normal political and economic conditions, and this if possible by constitutional means through parliament; but if that should fail, then by force. By normal economic conditions they generally understand a system based on capitalist principles, whereas the extreme left wing of the Socialists have striven or are still striving, more by violence than by evolution, for the establishment of a Socialist order of society.

The fact that these differences, which are more or less acute in all countries in Central Europe, have led to a dangerous conflict in Austria, is due to the particular situation of Austria with regard to other countries. Some of the main causes of this crisis lie outside Austrian politics, namely in the prevailing political and economic structure of Central and Eastern Europe. Up to 1914, the present-day "German Austria" was the economic, cultural and political centre of the Danube monarchy, a state of more than fifty million inhabitants. As pacifists we must rejoice that by means of the peace treaties the various nationalities have gained their political independence. In my opinion, however, it was a crime against human reason and European unity that the peacemakers neglected to build up a framework within which the economic unity of the Danube basin might have been restored. In the place of such a highly developed economic unit a chaos was created which until now governments and League of Nation committees have tried in vain to clear up.

The German section of former Austria no longer

occupies an important place in European politics; it has fallen a victim to dire poverty. This mutilated and stricken country, for the greater part unfertile and mountainous, is an economic prison cut off artificially in every direction from its natural hinterland and means of export. The distribution of the population is utterly abnormal. Nearly 40 per cent are living in the capital in the extreme northeast corner, almost outside the country. This situation creates not only a permanent economic crisis but also a serious division among the people. Vienna itself is a cosmopolitan town mixed with strong Slav and Jewish elements, and the greater part of the population, including large portions of the impoverished intellectuals and middle class, have voted for the Socialist party since the downfall of the monarchy. In contrast to this, the provinces are largely conservative, strongly bound to traditions and in part also to the Church. Austria is therefore as a result of its international position and the structure of its population clearly divided into two sections and predestined to acute class conflicts between Socialism on the one side and the peasants on the other. The general economic misery and hopelessness furthers the universal discontent and prepares the way for embittered and revolutionary movements, and therein lies the danger to peace in Central and Eastern Europe.

The idea of self-defence has been especially strong in the southern part of Austria, in Carinthia and Styria. These frontier provinces, as the result of continual struggles with the Slavs, have always been centres of hot-blooded nationalism. The plebiscite in southern Carinthia led automatically to the formation of a self-defence movement, through which the *Heimwehr* derived much of its strength. The tearing away of South Tyrol and the ever-increasing menace of Fascist Italy have likewise stirred up high patriotic feeling particularly in Innsbruck and in Tyrol, thus creating fertile ground for the *Heimwehr* Movement.

A PART from these more distant causes, however, there are a number of other reasons for the present conflict which may be found within the country itself. The chief one is the present constitution of the state and the grouping of the whole population into two practically equal political parties: the Socialist minority consisting of 43 per cent of members of Parliament, and the cartel of the bourgeois parties forming 57 per cent. Through the loss of the war and the collapse of the former authorities, the Social-Democrats here as in Germany were called to take a leading part in the rebuilding of the state. At that time they were not only the strongest party in Parliament, but they also had a large majority in the Vienna Municipality, which has since been called "Red" Vienna. This doubly strong position gave them nearly absolute con-

trol over the whole political and economic life in the country.

The old state authorities, the aristocrats, the clergy, and the liberal intellectuals were practically annihilated through the post-war collapse. The peasants on the one hand, who were called to play an important part in the new state, were without competent leaders. The villages withdrew and for the most part lost all interest in politics and their "Red" capital which, in their opinion, was in the hands of "alien elements"—Socialists, Jews and war profiteers. The trouble in Austria was and still is to a great extent psychological. The people no longer feel at home in their own country, they have no share in European politics, and are condemned to economic inactivity. If the *Heimwehr*, represented mainly by the village, now moves to Vienna, it is a sign of a remarkable inward transformation. The Austrian people are beginning to find themselves again and to love their new state and its old capital, even if this love expresses itself in declarations of war and the clanking of arms. This positive element in the *Heimwehr*, a definite national revival, we must recognize in order to understand its power and present popularity.

The collapse of the old monarchy was, as we have already pointed out, practically complete. There was no political agitation for its restoration. Yet the Social-Democrats thought it necessary for the protection of the young republic and also for the defence of their own power to organize an armed party guard, the *Republikanischer Schutzbund*. Although this step could be justified by the weakness of state authority and the general unrest, it was nevertheless fatal. It was the beginning of the arming of all parties for political purposes; it encouraged the armed reaction of the opposition and led to political conflicts being fought outside Parliament in violation of all democratic principles.

THE situation has been aggravated during the last few years by the hopeless stagnation of Parliament itself, which, as a result of the above-mentioned party groupings, is dependent on a loyal and constructive opposition of Socialist members. A crisis in Parliament which according to the constitution is entrusted with absolute authority and uncontrolled power of decision (extreme parliamentarianism!) means also a crisis in the political and economic life of the country. The failure is partly due to the bourgeois majority, but not a small part of the responsibility lies also on the side of the Social-Democrats who often refuse to coöperate in the passage of important laws, or demand exaggerated concessions. The parliamentary system has lost its popularity. We see from Italy, Jugoslavia and Poland that nothing promotes Fascism in a country more than the failure and irresponsibility of the democratic parties.

Besides the strong influence which the Socialists possessed as the result of their opposition in Parliament and their majority in Vienna, they had another great power outside Parliament—the Socialist trade unions, which consisted of practically all workers in private industries as well as the great majority of state employees, especially railwaymen, postmen, telegraph employees, tramwaymen, etc. By means of strikes they were accordingly in a position to paralyze the political machinery and economic life of the nation. This strengthened the opposition of the big industries, and it was at the time of strikes that the first local home-defence groups were formed. From these beginnings and as the result of severe discipline and popular leadership arose the present-day *Heimwehr* Movement, which has become a national force. Its object was to encircle "Red Vienna" gradually and finally to secure control of it.

This capture of Vienna took the form of a long struggle for the *Recht auf die Strasse* (the right to demonstrate in the streets)—the struggle between both parties for dominance. Thus economic reorganization was not to be carried out in Parliament but by the arming of parties and public demonstrations in the streets by the trained masses. For a long time the Socialists claimed the exclusive *Recht auf die Strasse* for Vienna and other industrial towns. Nothing made the *Heimwehr* more popular than this contest. Every "Red" village in which a demonstration could be organized was an added victory for them, and an encouragement to further progress, until demonstrations on September 29th almost at the doors of Vienna brought to a close the first phase of the *Heimwehr* victory procession. All this time the *Heimwehr* received open or secret support from the federal government as well as from the rulers in the provinces.

Two factors must still be mentioned to explain why this struggle for power adopted such embittered forms. The first is the economic distress and poverty among the peasants. They feel themselves insufficiently protected against foreign competition. Their debts increase from year to year. They have to pay 12 per cent or more on invested capital. Naturally, it is easy to make use of this discontent for political purposes.

In addition there is the strong religious conflict. In the days of the monarchy, Church and capitalist society were closely united. The Social Democrats were therefore hostile to the Church as they were all over Europe. Since the war and the revolution these religious contrasts have become even deeper, and large groups in the church as well as country folk support the *Heimwehr* from religious motives.

WHAT is the solution? Foreign pacifists suggest the disarmament of both parties as the simplest solution. But even if the government were strong

enough to do this, outward disarmament would not mean real peace so long as the present bitterness prevails on both sides. Both parties obtain their weapons by illegal means, and if they were confiscated today they would find others tomorrow.

We have also seen that the important causes of the crisis are due to the international situation which the Austrian people can do nothing to alleviate. It is the duty of the foreign democratic press to work toward an economic reorganization throughout Europe and the improvement of the means of existence in Austria. Continual economic and political discontent easily leads to Fascism and new dangers of war.

WITHIN Austria we may expect comparative peace for the next few months. The struggle for political power has been transferred for a short time at least back to Parliament. The *Heimwehr* is in sympathy with the present Government. Moreover rivalry among the leaders has decreased their power. It is hoped that the proposed alteration in the constitution will satisfy the moderate elements in the Movement and reduce the violent extremists to a small minority. Disarmament of both parties will make progress in proportion to the decrease in political passions. The situation, however, remains critical.

Should Parliament prove incapable of creating a new constitution and of giving the peasants the necessary economic help, nobody can foresee what will happen. Any local outbreak of hostilities, may become unexpectedly the cause of a greater armed conflict.

The *Heimwehr* grew strong as a reaction against Austrian Socialism. But it would be unjust to place too much blame on the Socialists. We must not forget that the Social Democrats have acquired strong support throughout the country. After the collapse of the monarchy they began to build up the government with admirable courage and honest leadership, thus averting a communist dictatorship. What they did for the betterment of the lot of the proletarian class in Vienna, particularly for the poorer population, will always play an important part in the history of social development in Europe. Of course they have made mistakes and misused their power for party purposes. However, they are at present sincerely striving for internal disarmament, and one can only hope that they will contribute their share—even if this entails sacrifices at the moment—to save democracy in Austria.

NOTE: Recent news despatches from Austria describe the formation of still another "private army," this time by farmers' organizations which are dissatisfied with the *Heimwehr* and the Socialists. The *Bauernwehr*, as the new body is called, is supported, according to reports, by the peasants but opposed by the Christian Social party.—The Editors.

F i n d i n g s

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

Hot Dog!

Notice: Dogs are strictly prohibited in passenger cabins, public rooms, saloon entrances and promenade decks. All dogs must be placed in charge of the ship's *butcher* on embarkation. By order of the Master. (*Sign posted on S. S. Varsova.*)

The Saintly Saints

Saint Bernard, one of the noblest churchmen of his time, urged recruits for the second crusade in this language: "The Christian who slays the unbeliever in the Holy War is sure of his reward, the more sure if he himself be slain. The Christian glories in the death of the infidel, because Christ is glorified."—*The Stream of History*, by Geoffrey Parsons, p. 353.

7,350,000

One of the pioneers in political statistics, Gregory King, calculated in 1696 that a population of 22 million would be the utmost England could support, and would be reached by the year 3500 or 3600—"in case the world should last so long." He also estimated that the English population in 1900 would be 7,350,000.—*J. W. Gregory, The Menace of Colour*, p. 17.

In 1885

The Palace Hotel at San Francisco is, I believe, the largest in the world—the largest, but by no means the ugliest, as I had expected to find. It is a vast quadrilateral building seven or eight stories high. . . . I lunched on oysters plump and delicate . . . at a cent apiece. Salmon were lying out on marble slabs . . . for three cents a pound.—*James Anthony Froude, Oceana*, pp. 358, 361.

Wiser Reading

Certainly we cannot help thinking any more than we can help breathing, but just as we can choose to breathe pure air in a pine wood on a high hill, so we can place our mind where the images it will work upon will be of a higher nature. What is to prevent me from replacing the gossip of Main Street by the gossip of Europe? Nobody can take real interest in the affairs of the world without conferring a living personality on those great *dramatic personae* of history: the old nations of Europe, the strange resurgent peoples of Asia, or America now, fully come of age.—*Ernest Dimnet, The Art of Thinking*, p. 116.

Hypocrites?

The average American boasts of his Christianity, but perhaps in no country of the world are Christian morals and Christian ethics so openly flouted as in the United States. The violations of conduct considered as Christian form too much of the life of the American to make it possible for him to remember the law of Moses or the ways of Jesus. But where the conscience smites, the dollar buys absolution. The American pays his contribution for the conversion of the heathen and non-believer, and thinks that the dollar reserves de luxe cabins in the kingdom of heaven.—*Kanhaya Lal Gauba, Uncle Sham*, p. 9.

The Function of Love

Great as are the problems of love, and great as should be our attention to them, it must always be remembered that love is not a little circle that is complete in itself. It is the nature of love to irradiate.—*Havelock Ellis, The Art of Life*, p. 23.

Blessings of Aristocracy

Webster, when his second marriage brought him into the aristocracy, began daily to wash his chest; but this had more to do with his nasal troubles than with cleanliness.—*The Rise of the Common Man*, by Carl Russell Fish, p. 141.

The Blindness of Reactionaries

The winter season of 1913-14 was one of the most brilliant—as it was to be the last—that St. Petersburg had seen. Society was gaily dancing on an unsuspected volcano, quite unconscious of the approaching catastrophe.—*Baron Rosen, Forty Years of Diplomacy*, vol. 2, p. 153.

"Was My Name Written There . . . ?"

The President preferred the Naval and perhaps the Diplomatic Intelligence, and entrusted some confidential work to an officer of Naval Intelligence. Still, the President ordered destroyed a suspect list, of over one hundred thousand names, printed for the Navy by the government printer, so many of those named being his friends or acquaintances.—*Our Secret War*, by Thomas M. Johnson, p. 192.

War on Ten Seconds' Notice

"Sending the battle-fleet round to the Pacific by me was certainly monitory. . . . When I sent it round, I believed it would turn out to be what it was, the greatest stroke for peace that could be struck. But I was prepared to have it bring on war; and the admirals were warned to be just as much on their guard in every way against hostilities as if we were actually at war, and to be ready to fight on ten seconds' notice."—*Theodore Roosevelt*, quoted by Professor Munroe Smith, in *Militarism and Statecraft*, p. 277.

The Fool's Wisdom

A fool is standing along the wayside where a military troupe is passing with lances and muskets.

"Where do these people come from?" he asks the people.

"Out of peace."

"And where are they going?"

"Into war."

"What do they do in war?"

"They kill the enemy and burn his cities."

"Why do they do that?"

"In order to have peace."

"I don't understand that. They come from peace and go to war in order to have peace. Why don't they remain in peace in the first place? But I suppose I'll never understand that, being but a fool."

—*Satire from a middle high German collection.*

Sovereign Continents

FRANCIS P. MILLER

WE are living in a day when the sovereign nation state is passing from the political scene. It is being supplanted by the sovereign continent or its territorial equivalent. A nation state can only serve as a satisfactory basis for prosperity in the modern world when the territory which it occupies is sufficiently extensive to provide the raw materials as well as the markets required by large-scale production. The sovereign exclusiveness of nation states which occupy a relatively small territory is only maintained at the price of their own impoverishment. Most of the nation states of Europe fall into this category and consequently as long as they continue to insist on the sovereign rights of tariffs at the frontiers, Europe as a whole will fail to realize the prosperity of which she is capable.

M. Briand's breakfast in Geneva last fall is probably the most important event in the life of Europe since the creation of the League of Nations. It may be, as is commonly said, that this initiative is merely a gesture—a continental retort to Mr. Snowden's attitude at the Hague. Few political moves are made which haven't in them an element of gesture, and M. Briand is perhaps as well acquainted with the art as anyone. But gesture or no gesture, the word has been spoken. Responsible European statesmen have publicly and officially committed themselves to studying the possibilities of a federation of European states, and if the need for such a step is a real one, the force of public opinion will carry the movement on to its eventual realization, regardless of what the actual motives of the statesmen concerned may be.

FOUR main considerations are driving men's minds in the direction of a United States of Europe:

1. First of all, there are political factors, existing chiefly in France. French foreign policy is directed by one main consideration—the realization of the utmost possible measure of security. It is difficult for an American to appreciate the full force of this urge toward security. The potential force of the United States is so great that security is almost a meaningless expression for us. The need does not exist. To understand its full significance for the French, one must remember the shifting weight of population in Europe. In 1700 there were some twenty million people in France and only five million in Great Britain. Now there are five millions more in Great Britain than in France. Not many generations ago, Germanic and French groups were relatively equal in size. At the

present time the German-speaking peoples are approximately twice as numerous as the French, and their rate of growth continues to be much more rapid.

The French have no hope of ever being able to dominate the Continent again as they did in the days of Napoleon. If military force alone is considered, time is all on the side of the Germans, regardless of the armament restriction requirements of the Treaty of Versailles. Consequently the French are wise to take time by the forelock and search for some alternative means of maintaining their political and cultural prestige. Leadership in determining the form and in shaping the policy of a European federation might offer an ideal opportunity for doing this. If M. Briand has the courage and persistence to carry his proposal through he may succeed on the European stage where Napoleon failed, and leave an infinitely more noble legacy to his countrymen.

2. A second and perhaps more decisive consideration is the need for a continental market. This will be the main argument that will appeal to Germany, and it is probably powerful enough to win her support. Industrialists everywhere favor the idea. One of its keenest advocates on economic grounds is Loucheur, the Minister of Labor in the French Cabinet. In Germany Bosch, the manufacturer of automobiles, and Heilmer, the manufacturer of linoleum, are its ardent supporters. These men find the markets of their own countries entirely too small for the production capacities of their factories. They cannot reduce overhead without a wider market. But when they go abroad, their merchandizing program is obstructed at every turn by the formalities, rates, and prohibitions of state customs barriers. For the Germans more than any other people a European continental market is essential. Before the war they looked toward their colonies as potential markets. These are gone. Their only hope is to gain in coöperation with their European neighbors the necessary outlet for their trade which is denied them in other parts of the world.

3. A third consideration which undoubtedly carries weight with most of the advocates of a European federation, but which is somewhat less important than the other factors I have mentioned is fear of Russia. There is a deep uneasiness in Western Europe as to what the future may have in store for its relations with this land of mystery. Twelve years have gone by since the October revolution, and still the Soviet Government goes on its way entirely anti-European in its policy and interests. Most of the

Western European nations share the instinctive sense of need for drawing together in self-defense.

4. But perhaps the most decisive factor of all is the existence and example of the United States of America. The United States has demonstrated to the world what a continental market means in achieving prosperity. The very fact that it exists makes older forms of political organization obsolete unless they meet the requirements of economic survival in a world whose industrial outlines are being so largely influenced by American conditions and technique. European manufacturers doubt whether they can successfully compete in the long run against the United States in foreign markets, given their present industrial organization. They feel that it behooves them to profit by our experience and create an internal European market which will supply them with the same advantages we have enjoyed in ours. Feeling toward the United States is very mixed. It varies from the worship of Henry Ford to a sentiment of profound resentment at the American invasion of European life. There is universal admiration for things American, universal desire to go to America, and almost universal distaste for Americans in the flesh. But whether loved or feared, the fact of the United States has created a situation in the world that impels European nations inevitably toward a continental federation of their own.

FROM our own standpoint, there seems everything to gain and little to lose by a movement in this direction. The important thing is to understand as clearly as we can the possibilities of such a movement and to foresee its dangers as well as its advantages. The greatest weakness is that the old European balance-of-power system would be projected on to a world scale with the British Empire holding the balance between Europe and the United States as Great Britain has done for centuries between different continental groups. The fact that the United States does not belong to the League of Nations renders such a possibility less mythical than it otherwise would be. However, with sufficient foresight both in America and in Europe, it ought to be possible for a movement of this kind to develop in such a way as to increase rather than diminish coöperation across the Atlantic, Great Britain serving as a bridge rather than holding the balance. This will depend largely upon the psychological reaction in America and the counter reaction in Europe which follow upon the first steps that are taken. The existence of a United States of Europe would in certain respects facilitate our coöperation with the rest of the world. It would remove the last real objection we have to remaining outside the League, namely, that we do not wish to become entangled in the internal conflict between European States. By providing an agency for dealing with purely European questions, the proposed

federation would set the League free to become a genuine society of nations, thereby achieving its world task.

Beyond question, so far as Europe is concerned, the advantages of a free-trade federation are incalculable. It would go a long way toward giving the French absolute security. It would provide the Germans with the markets they need. Thus at one and the same time it would satisfy both of the desires for which the world war was fought but which can never be realized by military victory. The conflict between France and Germany can never be fully resolved until they are both member states of a larger community federated together within a sovereign continent.

Thirty Honor High Schools

A list of schools which attained highest rating for 1929 among those maintaining junior units of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps was recently made public by the War Department. The following schools received this "honorable mention":

ARSENAL TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL, Indianapolis

BOYS HIGH SCHOOL, Atlanta

CAMPION COLLEGE (High School Department), Prairie du Chien, Wis.

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, Grand Rapids, Mich.

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, Kansas City, Mo.

GALILEO HIGH SCHOOL, San Francisco

GLOUCESTER HIGH SCHOOL, Gloucester, Mass.

HARRISON HIGH SCHOOL, Chicago

HIGHLAND PARK HIGH SCHOOL, Dallas, Texas

HOLLYWOOD HIGH SCHOOL, Los Angeles

JOPLIN HIGH SCHOOL, Joplin, Mo.

LANIER HIGH SCHOOL, Macon, Ga.

LEAVENWORTH HIGH SCHOOL, Leavenworth, Kan.

LOS ANGELES HIGH SCHOOL, Los Angeles

LOUISVILLE MALE HIGH SCHOOL, Louisville, Ky.

MANUAL ARTS HIGH SCHOOL, Los Angeles

MORGAN PARK HIGH SCHOOL, Chicago

NICHOLAS SENN HIGH SCHOOL, Chicago

NORTHEAST HIGH SCHOOL, Kansas City, Mo.

OAK CLIFF HIGH SCHOOL, Dallas, Texas

OGDEN HIGH SCHOOL, Ogden, Utah

SAN ANTONIO HIGH SCHOOL, San Antonio, Texas

SENIOR CITY HIGH SCHOOL, Knoxville, Tenn.

SOUTHEASTERN HIGH SCHOOL, Detroit

TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL, Oakland, Cal.

WALLA WALLA HIGH SCHOOL, Walla Walla, Wash.

WAUKEGAN TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOL, Waukegan, Ill.

WEST HIGH SCHOOL, Salt Lake City, Utah

WESTPORT HIGH SCHOOL, Kansas City, Mo.

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Why We Fought

THE highest praise one can give this book, *Why We Fought*, is to say that the author, C. Hartley Grattan, has notably succeeded in his declared purpose "to get behind the rationalizations that have been current for the last ten years [concerning our entry into the war] and try to discover the real forces at work."

His method is sound—that is, it is objective and comprehensive. He begins with an admirable statement of the causes of the outbreak of the war in Europe, summarizing the now familiar theory of divided guilt. Then comes a chapter on the propaganda of the belligerents in Europe, a study of the development of an immense American economic stake in Allied victory, and finally a detailed survey of American diplomacy. Not much remains when Mr. Grattan is through to support the once sacrosanct opinion that the war itself was a struggle of light against darkness or that we entered it as a nation for any of the idealistic reasons we mouthed, which reasons were doubtless dear to individuals who sincerely held them. On the contrary, we entered an imperialist war after having been deluged with pro-Allied propaganda, infinitely cleverer but essentially as false as pro-German propaganda, primarily because our dominant economic groups which had been able to trade with and finance the Allies but not the Germans could not afford, or felt they could not afford, anything but Allied victory; and secondarily because of the whole course of President Wilson's diplomacy which in fact if not in theory acquiesced in the illegal British blockade but bitterly opposed the German submarine war which was the answer to that blockade. Our government never made any diplomatic effort to end the illegal British food blockade comparable to its effort against German submarine warfare. If it had, possibly we might have kept out of the war and brought about "peace without victory." Possibly—but the reviewer ought to follow the author in keeping down speculation on what might have been.

I have said that the author was objective in method and so he is. That does not mean that he refrains from criticism—on the whole pertinent criticism—of many acts and actors in the drama. I laid down the book with a feeling that Mr. Grattan's justified comments on Walter Page's extraordinary pro-Britishism and Colonel House's susceptibility to Allied propaganda as well as the corrective emphasis he places on the illegality of the British blockade may tend to make the reader forget what I judge would be Mr. Grattan's own thesis: namely, that once a great war is undertaken, any belligerent will do what it feels it can and must for its own interest. In general, however, I have nothing but praise and a hope that the book will be widely read. I confess I could not read it without experiencing once more the old feeling of sorrow and impotent rage over an unnecessary catastrophe. That feeling may disqualify me as an impartial reviewer; yet I cannot help but hope that other readers will share it and so be on their guard against a

repetition of like disaster. And to be on guard means not only to be careful about playing with matches around gun powder; it means getting rid of the gun powder. (Published by Vanguard Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.50 post paid.)

NORMAN THOMAS

The Twilight of Christianity

"MODERN civilization is like a man with one foot strapped to an ox-cart and the other to an airplane." Harry Elmer Barnes, ultra-humanist, is speaking. He is alarmed at our intellectual and moral unfitness to direct the enormous power that the sciences have put into our hands. Yet our fault is not that we neglect to apply Christian ethics. Indeed, the chief cause of our cultural lag is Christianity itself, for it stands in the way of the scientific handling of human problems. Its basic fault is its bondage to supernaturalism—by which Barnes means, practically, belief in God. This belief obscures cause-and-effect relations in human affairs; it ties us to traditional codes that justify or overlook much evil and ignore much possible good; it produces both the fundamentalist dogmatism that resists scientific enlightenment, and the modernist complacency that dims its rays. The twilight of supernaturalism is already here, however, and the present work is intended to help its sun to set without a rising.

Barnes whales orthodoxy in great detail and with equal gusto. He does it with wearisome prolixity and with a strenuousness that, after killing an idea, belabors its carcass. The pages sweat superlatives. Yet he goes deeper than this, claiming that even liberal Christianity has its roots in the old supernaturalism and in the old, unhistorical use of the Bible. In particular, it attributes to Jesus acts and qualities not ascertainable by sound biblical criticism; it covers up the limitations of his experience and of his ethical outlook; it ascribes to him authority in matters that he never thought about, and it deduces specific guidance for today out of the non-specific tendencies of his mind. Hence, though some of the ablest efforts to overcome the lag in our society are made by liberal Christians, they themselves, as a rule, help prolong the evils against which they struggle. The liberal and the conservative are in the same boat, Bishop McConnell with Chancellor Day, and Bishop Paul Jones with Bishop Manning!

To dispose of belief in God is for Barnes easy enough. The metaphysical foundation of it is annihilated "at a glance" as soon as we understand evolution (11). Next, astro-physics rebukes our conceit. Our mind is too small to grasp the nature of the "originator and administrator of the galaxy of galaxies," even if there is one. Indeed, to attribute to this merely possible being such man-like qualities as thinking and choosing is absurd (233-272). Barnes stakes the issue upon the insignificance of

man. "Astronomically speaking," he says, "man is almost totally negligible, while from the standpoint of his biological antiquity and continuity he is far outdistanced by the lowly cockroach, which has remained substantially unchanged for more than fifty million years" (261). There is something in this argument that looks like forgetfulness. "Astronomically speaking, man is"—the astronomer! As for the outdistancing cockroach, he has never written 500 pages in defence of the truth as he sees it! The author assumes, yet denies the profound significance of man. In one breath he makes straight thinking about the God-belief tremendously important; in the next breath he tells us that when we do think straight about it, we shall see that our whole capacity for thinking is insignificant. Does he hold that meanings and values are entirely independent of each other, so that a thing could have inclusive meaning without value, or inclusive value without meaning? May not his own passion for truth, liberty, social decency, happiness for all, world peace, and beauty be more significant than the size of Betelgeuse or any sidereal distance?

Since Jesus was uninformed concerning conditions that we have to meet, therefore nothing he did or said can help us meet them, so the author assumes. "If Jesus was thinking of a spiritual world to come, then his teachings regarding the Kingdom of God have no relevance whatever to the remaking of social conditions here on earth" (400). This is simply the "all or none" of fundamentalism in reverse gear; it is not historical realism. "If there are more useful Americans" than Kirby Page, Sherwood Eddy, Harry Ward, Jerome Davis, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Francis J. McConnell, the author is "not aware of their identity" (384). But he is not impressed by their appreciation of Jesus as a leader in the cause of social justice. Their thought of him is a "stereotype," "palpably hopeless," "preposterous," "ridiculous." This criticism ignores differences between these individuals in respect to their use of New Testament criticism, and it attributes to all of them a view of authority that probably no one holds, a view which some of them explicitly reject.

Yet the book deserves a patient reading by those whom it antagonizes, the Christians of our day, both orthodox and liberal. For it uncovers real problems and real faults. Who can deny that Christianity as a whole makes only laggard use of scientific information even in matters that concern our duty to our neighbor? Can anyone affirm that Christianity will not yet suppress the teaching of the sciences in all of our states, as it is already partly doing it in some of them? If liberals assert that this is not the work of Christianity, then certain questions are in order: In this struggle, to what extent have the liberals stood up and been counted? And do such matters, vital for our civilization, affect the recognition of individuals, churches, and denominations as "fellow Christians"? Recently a professor was ousted from a Southern university because he denied that Jonah was swallowed by a whale. How many such acts does it take to insure that such colleges, and the churches behind them, shall not be recognized as Christian? What are the conditions of proposed unions of the churches? Further, is it not true that enlightened leaders habitually soft-pedal the consequences of biblical criticism? Is it not true that the dominant Christian ethics is a bourgeois ethics? Just as I was about to write the last words of this review, the president of the Ministerial Union of Redlands, California, issued a call to the churches of that city to pray for rain. "The preachers of Roger Babson," says the call, "are in harmony with this faith." (Published by Vanguard Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.00 postpaid.)

GEORGE A. COE

The Tragic Era

HISTORY has a way of "being writ" by the victors military and political. A Greek wrote the history of the Persian wars. We have Cicero's version of the Catiline conspiracy. Christians chiefly told the story of Roman paganism. There is an enormous advantage in thus getting one party's story on record—for that party. It establishes a tradition and what is dignified by the other side as "historical revision" often gets itself denounced as "muckraking." It were far better for the men to remember that there is always another side and to keep one ear free for the defendants.

Claude G. Bowers turns out to be a passionate advocate for revising unjust historical judgments. In *The Tragic Era* he deals with the period following Lincoln's assassination. The curse of war extended far beyond the years of actual fighting. There were bitter hatreds, unreasoned fanaticism, unbridled greed, intense partisanship, picturesque ignorance, and enormous human and political problems. In the conflict that resulted—generally known as the Reconstruction—Andrew Johnson was worsted during his life and in history, while many unworthy men were placed on a pedestal of honor. Bowers examines carefully into the record and upsets most of the traditional judgments. Johnson is rehabilitated and appears as one of the greatest American Presidents. Others are toppled from their place of eminence. It is a splendid piece of work, eminently worth reading. It makes the careful reader reflect how little war does to solve great social problems—Negro slavery in this case. A half-century and more of suffering came to the Negro as a result of post-war measures. (Published by Houghton Mifflin. Through The World Tomorrow Book shop, \$5.00 postpaid.)

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

Workers and Their Wages

IN *The New Industrial Revolution and Wages*, W. Jett Lauck traces the genesis of the so-called liberal wage policy of American industry. Labor's outlook prior to 1917 was dismal. Unionization, collective bargaining, and the strike alone afforded partial escape from the trammels of poverty. For economically, despite the Clayton Act, labor was treated as a *de facto* commodity whose price was fixed by conditions of supply and demand. Ethically the laborer was held to be entitled to a "subsistence standard" of living.

These doctrines were little modified by the war because of the truce arranged between labor and capital. The armistice found labor seeking an increased share in the control and output of industry. Capital began to advocate and largely effected a wage reduction as the sole cure for post-war depression.

By 1922 post-war industrial experience and a new attitude on the part of public leaders was metamorphosing wage theory. Workers were said to be entitled to a living wage. Employers began to agree with union leaders that labor should share in the increased productivity of labor. Distributors realized that, since the market for American goods was largely domestic, the volume of sales was necessarily limited by the volume of the wage earners' purchasing power. In essence, a theoretical basis was laid for a doctrine of increasing real wages, for each of the three mentioned concepts is an expanding one.

At present, despite the changed philosophy, most "industrial workers are not earning sufficient to provide proper standards of

living for themselves and their families." Many, in fact, live at a subsistence level.

What does Mr. Lauck suggest to correct the present situation? Provided industrial output is to be increased and production adjusted to demand, archaic anti-trust laws must be abrogated, worker and employer must coöperate; there must be established in each industry a commission for the regulation of prices, profits, and other relevant matters, while inter-industrial coördination must be facilitated through the creation of a federal advisory board. Market expansion coupled with fixed capital construction in periods of depression will prevent unemployment. Constructive wage policy requires: (a) an adequate basic wage for the lowest grade of workers; (b) maintenance of differentials above this minimum according to skill, hazard, responsibility, and productive efficiency; (c) wage scales to be adjusted to fluctuations in living costs; (d) an equitable method of determining labor's share in the productive gains of industry over and above its regular wage rates.

No mention is made of the "family wage." No proposal is made whereby the *proportion* which labor receives of the total output may be increased; instead, the author seems to accept the "social wage" theory of the A. F. of L. which practically assumes the present *proportion* to be equitable. Capital's feudal control over technological knowledge and the instruments of production is not examined. Likewise, the theoretical implications of current wage doctrine are not touched upon. (Published by Funk and Wagnalls. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.50 postpaid.)

JOSEPH W. SPENGLER.

Alarms from Within

ONE of the most hopeful indications in the present social religious situation is the fact that all the alarm-bells are not jangling outside the walls of the church. Various churchmen are writing books that recognize the failings, dangers, and problems of present-day religion. Among these are two important volumes originating on opposite sides of the Atlantic. W. E. Orchard, an Englishman, has written a thorough, scholarly, and sympathetic discussion of *The Present Crisis in Religion*, while Paul Arthur Schilpp, from his professorial chair in the College of the Pacific, debates the question: *Do We Need a New Religion?* Both these writers are scholarly, modern-minded, and deeply spiritual Christian clergymen. Both recognize an element of crisis in the religious world of today and the necessity for some decided change in our social direction, if religion is to maintain a worthy part in the progress of mankind.

Although each of these men is convinced that religion is one of our deepest and most vital needs, a careful reading of their books will bring to the surface some disturbing facts and conclusions. All is not right with the world, or with organized Christianity. Dr. Orchard considers it "perhaps a symptomatic phenomenon that it is the economically middle class who form the main support of the church today," and deplores the notable absence from the churches of the intellectuals and the futility that results from a divided and broken Christendom. Professor Schilpp criticizes even more sharply the middle class connections of the church, and charges that it not only refuses to resist the social and economic stratification of our day but actually coöperates in the creation of class distinctions.

The American answers the question of his title, "Do We Need a New Religion?" by the favorite device of scholastic witnesses—"yes" and "no." We need a new religion in the sense of turning

away from the weak and divisive tendencies that have so hampered the progress of the church. But if we will turn back to the vital elements in Christianity and demonstrate that it is a religion worth keeping, we will find it sufficient for all our moral and religious needs. The voice of our American critic sometimes raises a higher note of alarm than that of the Englishman who underneath his dissatisfaction with conditions today is a persistent and optimistic believer in what he calls "the doctrine of the living Christ."

Dr. Orchard's book contains a searching analysis of present-day religion in England. In his country there is a general decline in church-going and in the attendance of the Sunday schools. The churches sustain an apathetic relation toward the social condition of the masses; hence "many idealists have in recent years become detached from church attendance." The average novel treats religion as non-existent, or irrelevant, while the drama introduces a parson only "to provide a never-failing element of farce."

The serious problem introduced by the divisions of Christendom is one of the chief evils that Dr. Orchard deplores. In his thinking the prospect of recovery is slight unless there can be a unification in spirit and general program of all the Christian forces of the Western world. The least convincing section of his book is the portion which reflects an appreciation of the provisional services of Protestantism but looks toward a movement that may bring the Protestant forces into the Roman church. Dr. Orchard hopes for a generous, broad, modernistic Catholicism that will be willing to receive the Protestant churches into its fold with all their denominational peculiarities and traits. It seems a bit Utopian to think of the church providing a place for the Salvation Army or a Methodist mission to reach "the down-and-outs," while "the Unitarian could specialize in presenting a reasoned apologetic for the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the ethical teaching of Christ." However, the spirit of both these writers is one in recognizing the present crisis, and in seeking to apply as a solution a thorough-going application of the teachings of Jesus, and a practical recognition of the values for individual and social character in a worshipful attitude toward God. (Published by Harper Brothers and Henry Holt. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.50 each postpaid.)

E. LEIGH MUDGE.

Class of 1902

WITH "All Quiet on the Western Front" still a best-seller, those who there discovered what war is will be advised to read *Class of 1902*, by Ernst Glaeser (translated by Willa and Edwin Muir). They will not find it as significant as Remarque's classic, but they will close the book feeling that another window has been given us through which we see that even the enemy can be hurt by suffering. In a sense, Glaeser's book is a companion volume to Remarque's, for both deal with a generation of youth "destroyed by the war." But while "All Quiet" portrays the combatant, *Class of 1902* shows us that fascinating section of Germany too young to be in service—the "class of 1902" being the military designation given boys born that year, those who were only twelve when war was declared.

It is proof of Herr Glaeser's ability as observer and writer that what is here set down seems less the account of a man years removed from the experiences narrated, than the diary of one of the typical members of the class. A generation of boys loving fun, disliking such things as school, wondering frightened about sex, fighting their glorious gang battles, parrotting their elders

in act as well as word, are suddenly caught up by the war. What happens? At first a great adventure, the chance to reveal the spiritual qualities of the Fatherland, the war changed month by month into a dread plague taking the best of German life and leaving the rest starved and disillusioned. How this affected such impressionable stuff as the nature of boys twelve to sixteen, is shown with such simple forcefulness as to leave an indelible impression on the reader's mind. The war literature would have been incomplete without this picture of a generation that, managing somehow to cling to life, forever lost its youth. (Published by Viking Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.50 postpaid.)

R. W. ABERNETHY.

English, French, Spanish

PERHAPS he intended to do it, or it may be that it merely happened while he was pursuing an interesting psychological study; but at any rate Salvador de Madariaga has made it impossible henceforth for people of any nation to judge and condemn other nationalities by their own standards. Of course, that is only true if they read and digest his book, *Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards*; unfortunately, some people may omit to do so.

Señor Madariaga finds that the leading characteristic of the Englishman is action, of the Frenchman thought, and of the Spaniard passion, and with keen insight he traces the expression of these characteristics through the language, the political institutions, the community life, the art and literature, and the individual lives of the people of those groups. The study, as he works it out, is a fascinating and convincing one, and there gradually evolves in the reader's mind the recognition that the English, the French, and the Spanish, and doubtless other coherent national groups as well, have each developed their own specially flavored and uniquely formed life.

In each group the ways of thinking, acting, and feeling are different, for they are in each case related to a different dominant principle. And who shall say which type of life is right, or truest, or best? They are simply different and, as the author says, "all we know is that we do not know enough to pass judgment on others for the crime of differing from us." There is no criterion by which we can choose between these types and no possibility of reducing them to uniformity. We must accept Señor Madariaga's conclusion:

"The obvious answer is that the admirable variety of national characters is one of the manifestations of the wealth of Creation, and that, as such, men owe it to the Creator to respect it as a manifestation and to themselves to enjoy it as a spectacle and a gift." (Published by the Oxford University Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.75 postpaid.)

PAUL JONES.

A Novel in Wood Cuts

WORDS have multiplied, bleached, and lost their freshness. By contrast today we find exhilarating any story told in pictures. I call to mind the pleasurable shock of three picture-books in different fields: a book of photographed plant forms by a German sculptor, Blossfeldt, that seems without a word to lay open their inner tragedy and hence the secret of the power exercised on us by their form; at a lower level, a book of pictures by the German architect, Erich Mendelsohn, whose well-selected contrasting views point better than ever words could do, the wide

difference between the building ideals of Russia, Europe, America; and the tremendous, wordless, wood-cut novels of the Belgian Franz Masereel. It is from the last that Lynd Ward's book, *God's Man*, seems to derive.

As in the compact volumes of the Belgian, events pass in rapid cinematic order, but with an advantage over the cinema that every successive "still" calls on the imagination, not the camera, to complete it. The artist's task has been to find for the imagination a powerful key or symbol. He is obliged, as were Giotto and the other great church painters, to use contrast and distortion for the sake of the narrative. By this he is compelled (more strongly sometimes than "abstract" non-story-telling modern artists are compelled) to trenchant compositions. A few that especially stand out are: an inn-keeper giving the artist the horse-laugh; the artist meeting his future mistress; the artist and his wife against the clouds.

The story itself? It has its episodes and swift turns. Many readers of this magazine will find it great. I am sorry I thought so only of spots. Let the symbol of my dissatisfaction be the protagonist's longish, wavy hair. His problems and responses are not as unique and illuminating as their graphic presentation, though the author obviously meant them to be *It*. But then, if Mr. Ward does not seem to have fully achieved his end in this first volume, it is partly because he has had the courage, in taking the medium of Masereel, to invite comparison by the standards of a consummate master. (Published by Cape and Smith. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.50 postpaid.)

DOUGLAS HASKELL.

Dewey's Quest

JUST as our unique mass production system in industry is based on continually improved methods subjected to every possible test, so John Dewey, philosopher of a machine age, in his search for certainty discovers it in the method of experiment, the trial and error process. Truth is to be found not in the absolute, not in the Supernatural, not in an ideal apart from man, but in man's own practice of his ideas and his reflection upon them. It is an emphasis that is going to bring untold development and happiness to the human race. In *The Quest for Certainty* Dewey has given to the world a distinctly American philosophy.

With rapier thrust the writer pierces our modern separation between ideals and practice, means and ends. "It is impossible to form a just estimate of the paralysis of effort that has been produced by indifference to means. If a bird in the hand is worth two in a neighboring bush an actuality in hand is worth, for the direction of conduct, many ideals that are so remote as to be invisible and inaccessible." This is the tragedy of America that our actions are so often unrelated to our professed ideals.

The Quest for Certainty is based on the Gifford Lectures, given by the author at the University of Edinburgh in the Spring of 1929. James and Royce had preceded Dewey as American lecturers on the distinguished Gifford Foundation. Many will miss the mysticism in the last philosopher that is to be found in the former two. However, it is only seemingly so. The mystic concept of the "beloved community" found in the aristocratic Harvard professors is much more real and more powerful as an incentive to action in the democratic Columbia scholar. Outwardly Dr. Dewey's book has little emotional pull, and one finds it stiff reading. But in its underlying emphasis on the worth of the individual and his ability to find an understanding of himself and society through action, the work fires one's imagination.

In his own example the author, as no other living philosopher, has inspired men to strive for a more brotherly society by means of which a more intelligent humanity may be evolved. Professor Dewey has no place for a supernaturally revealed religion and many will think him irreligious; but if Jesus' judgment "by their fruits ye shall know them" is valid, then this philosophy which gives men a religious passion to go out and find the whole meaning of life through the testing of their experiences will produce the finest religion.

One closes the book with the conviction that the story has just begun. The problem has been stated. Now comes the great task of applying this philosophy, of studying men's actions, of experimenting with hypotheses, until Dr. Dewey and his co-workers and disciples shall discover more fully what are the practical principles for happier living. It is a serial that will last forever. The next fifty years will give more details of the story than the previous history of the human race. The future of mankind is at stake in the experiment. (Published by Minton, Balch. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$4.00 postpaid.)

HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS

Beloved Judas

ROBINSON JEFFERS has been hailed by certain critics as the only living American poet with any recognized signs of genius, and the present volume, *Dear Judas*, confirms that judgment.

Not all students of the Bible have found Judas to be a villainous apostle of hate. Among some authorities he is regarded as a friend of Jesus, predestined to betray the Christ as his part in the plan of Redemption. In the poem *Dear Judas*, the woman (Mary) says:

"I have this comfort: we are caught in the net, and the monsters of our sins are not our own monsters, but the cords drawing."

On her statement that Jesus had no fleshly father—and this statement she admits to be a lie—Jesus' kingdom is built. Judas was caught in the same net. Jeffers has him love Jesus so passionately that he betrays him as a means of sending him back to Galilee and the old life. He wants Jesus to be the humble teacher and lover of common people and not the sacrificing king. He believes that the priests will send him home and Jesus, frightened, will go. The cross has been the one thing Jesus desired to make himself king, and his will conquers.

The poem is written in a form of drama with Judas, Jesus, The Woman (Mary), and Lazarus as the cast. The mutes, the disciples and the common people listening to Jesus constitute a mob that says nothing. The conversation of these characters is given in free verse the rhythms of which are long and sweeping, characteristic of the poet.

I quote the following, disregarding the lines in order to give the thought and not the style of poetry:

"... The Greek artist shaping stone to some form of beauty; he holds the plan in his mind and hews to it, and what falls off is not hurt. . . . But I . . . Oh, horrible to carve a child out of the shuddering breast and body of my mother. . . .

"My poor Judas I fear will die . . . his name shall ride with mine down forests of ages."

The second poem in the book, *The Loving Shepherdess*, is a longer work written in a narrative style. The character, a wandering shepherd girl on the California coast, sacrifices herself to guard and care for her small flock of sheep. There may be some

criticism of the colloquial tone, but it is as absorbing a poem as the first.

In a jacket note Mr. Jeffers explains the relationship of thought between the two longer poems. The theme of both is love, and the characters—the shepherdess, Judas and Jesus—embody the different aspects of the inefficient, pitying and possessive.

With his use of poetic line, phrase, metaphor, and description, the poet gives expression to a spiritual understanding of tragedy which has made him what Benjamin de Casseres calls "tragic terror." (Published by Liveright. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.50 postpaid.) RAYMOND KRESENSKY

WE RECOMMEND

What do We Mean by God? by Cyril H. Valentine. Macmillan. 248 pages. \$2.00. Not a book likely to convert the atheist; but, for one already believing in God in an orthodox Anglican fashion, and sufficiently at home in the jargon of both science and theology, a weighty anchor to the faith.

Jewels the Giant Dropped, by Edith Eberle and Grace W. McGraw. Friendship Press. 138 pages. \$1.00. (Paper 75 cents.) A group of interesting juvenile stories of the Philippine Islands and Filipino life, from the friendly, unpatronizing viewpoint, with study material.

The New Arts. Norton. In five volumes, about 90 pages each. The set, boxed, \$6.00. Subjects and authors are as follows: Painters of the Modern Mind, by Mary Cecil Allen; Modern Sculpture, by Joseph Hudnut; Music, 1900-1930, by Alfred J. Swan; Potable Gold, Some Notes on Poetry and This Age, by Babette Deutsch; The Modern Theatre In Revolt, by John Mason Brown. These were all originally lectures delivered under the auspices of The People's Institute, New York. A good outfit for the poor Philistine like us, to use for catching up with what is going on and possibly going onward.

Welfare Work in Mill Villages, by Harriet L. Herring. University of North Carolina Press. 406 pages. \$5.00. A book strangely at variance with facts which have come to light in the recent southern mill strikes. Prepared as an addition to the University of North Carolina Social Study Series, the volume is based upon a first-hand investigation of 322 mills in the state of North Carolina. Extra-mill activities—recreational, health, social, and educational—are taken up in considerable detail, and chapters are devoted to the relations between the mill and the school, the church, the town and the community generally. In each case the author's conclusion is a tacit endorsement of existing paternalistic capitalism: while conditions may not be ideal, they are on the whole not so bad, and a great deal better than they might be! If a mill owner pays the local preacher's salary, that is all to the good, and the mill villagers thereby have their burdens lightened through the benevolence of their employer. And if schools do not quite measure up to the state educational standards, that is the fault of public opinion generally and not, as might be supposed, of the local mill owner who perhaps pays part of the school's maintenance and dictates how long its sessions shall last and what shall be taught. Altogether, the volume is as amazing a piece of rationalization which should prove a target for any alert critic of the mill caste prevailing in the South today.

THE WORLD TOMORROW, FEBRUARY, 1930

The Conquerors, by André Malraux. Harcourt, Brace. 270 pages. \$2.50. A translation of a successful French novel dealing with a phase of the Chinese situation of several years ago. Those who are interested in China, but cannot take history straight, will find it here well diluted with soda-pop and artificially colored.

Martin Luther: a Destiny, by Lucien Febvre. E. P. Dutton. 320 pages. \$3.75. Do not attempt this as a first book on Luther. But if you have the moderate background Professor Febvre presupposes, you will find here a fascinating interpretation of a religious genius who was carried along by social forces he could not nor cared to control. A clear-eyed and friendly critic steers a well-planned course between eulogizing and debunking.

The Art of Straight Thinking, by Edwin Leavitt Clarke. D. Appleton and Co. 470 pages. \$3.00. This book makes us cross because it makes us suspect that we just can't be right about everything. Oh, well! It's a pretty highbrow and learned proposition, also, and therefore will doubtless reach the class who need it most. The chapter on "Cures and Preventives of Prejudice" would upset many a course in salesmanship and the whole book will not only deflate loose thinkers but show them how to hit the sawdust trail to honest use of their minds, if any.

The Ordeal of This Generation, by Gilbert Murray. Harper & Bros. \$3.00. Now at the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the League of Nations is a good time to read Professor Murray's stimulating new book. For centuries the call to arms has been sounded, but in this generation a new challenge summons man in the international field—the call to intelligence and conference. "War is incompatible with civilization," writes this Englishman. "I look to intellectual coöperation among men of good will for the restoring of our lost Cosmos and the ultimate wise guidance of the world." He traces the intellectual failures of past generations that produced the Great War, reveals the reason displayed in the methods of the League of Nations and the Paris Pact, and links these up with the great spiritual hopes of mankind. The book is critical; yet one wishes that it were even more critical in the presence of the imperialism, militarism, and race prejudice of our day.

Contempo, by John Vassos and Ruth Vassos. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$5.00. A book about America and dedicated to America. In a series of striking black and white drawings—modernistic interpretations of a modern age—Mr. Vassos, a young Greek artist who has lived in the United States since the war, symbolizes the restless, surging, dynamic quality of this thing we call twentieth century civilization. Radio, movies, advertising, suburbia, the tabloids, psychology, sport—these and other expressions, mechanical and material, are brilliantly and devastatingly conveyed both through the illustrations and the accompanying text—the latter done in crisp, staccato prose by Ruth Vassos. Neither artist nor author has any sympathy for the standardization, the ballyhoo, the constant greed for bigger-and-betterness; but they do appreciate the astonishing vitality of America. Perhaps we are like our skyscrapers—"symbol of a new era in creation." A fascinating book and a superb gift for any intelligent, sensitive American whose eye and ear are attuned to the quickening tempo of his age.

Death of a Hero, by Richard Aldington. Covici Friede, Inc. 393 pages. \$2.50. A deep, stirring story of the War and three generations which lived and died in it—a story vivid enough to explain the grim lines of the author's epilogue, which speaks of—and for—the war-blighted ones: "We, the old men, some of us nearly forty...."

Courageous Companions, by Charles J. Finger. Longmans, Green. \$3.00 304 pages. A charming and at the same time stirring adventure tale recounting the experiences of one Osberne, a young English boy who shipped with Magellan on the latter's famous voyage round the world. In addition to geographical and historical details, which have been faithfully preserved, the book has a racy vividness that will captivate both elderly and youthful readers. It well deserves the two thousand dollar juvenile fiction prize which it was awarded last year.

Dipped in Aloes, by Benjamin Musser. Bozart Press, Atlanta. 49 pages. \$1.25. Hailed as "a book of unpleasant poems," but Mr. Musser's bark is worse than his bite. The bite is there, however, at times; and yet the caustic verses are directed only at the enemies of human rights and human intelligence. There are trite bits, such as "the only hell is loneliness," but there are fresh bits too. Seeking to wield his "sun-bright rapier, his satiric word," Mr. Musser must learn then, never to use the broadaxe. But his poems found us laggard and left us roused.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Reply to Kirby Page

IN his article on Zionism which appeared in the January issue, Mr. Page gives evidence of a desire to be fair and impartial, but he starts with a wrong assumption. Certainly the vast majority of the Jews are not looking for supremacy in Palestine in the sense that Mr. Page means it—that is, domination of the rest of the population. In a speech delivered only recently, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, emphasized that both Israel and Ishmael are descendants of Abraham and that both can live in Palestine in peace and prosperity. Nothing which the Jews have thus far done indicates that they are not willing "to share equally."

In discussing the war-time promises made by Great Britain, Mr. Page emphasizes the pledge to the Arabs, apparently ignoring the fact that a pledge, if sacred *per se*, is just as binding when made to Jews. The Balfour Declaration was a public document, sanctioned by the nations of the world, and scrutinized by them before it was incorporated into the League of Nations Mandate. The actual promise made by Sir Henry MacMahon has always been under dispute. Even Sir Henry, however, has denied that the promise of an Arabic Empire included Palestine. Mr. Page quotes King Faisal as agreeing that Palestine was included. But it was King Faisal, who in 1919, in a letter to Felix Frankfurter, now at the Harvard Law School, said in part:

"We feel that the Arabs and Jews are cousins in race, have suffered similar oppressions at the hands of powers stronger than themselves, and by a happy coincidence have been able to take the first steps toward the attainment of our national ideals together. We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. . . . We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home."

Nothing has occurred since 1919 which has changed the ideals and objectives of Zionism, then regarded by King Faisal as "moderate and proper."

Mr. Page, intentionally or not, gives the impression that Jews "occupy a privileged position in the government of the country." It is unfortunate that he did not have the statistics of the Palestine Government itself at hand. The Jews form 18 per cent of the population of Palestine. Nevertheless, they contribute 50 per cent of the public revenues, which has made it possible for the Palestine Government, the only one of all the Mandated territories, to show a surplus. What benefits have Jews derived from this disproportionate contribution to the public revenue? The ratio of Jewish employees on the railways is 12 per cent, while in the police and frontier forces it is only seven per cent. The Jews secure 14 per cent of the education budget, and but two per cent of the health budget. As regards the government service, Mr. Page cites the appointment of Attorney General Bentwich as an indication of the "hold" which Jews have upon this branch of the service. The facts, however, are that Jews constitute only 12.8 per cent of the total number of employees, and occupy an even smaller percentage of the "senior" government positions. In Jerusalem, whose population is 62 per cent Jewish, only four seats out of twelve on the Municipal Council are occupied by Jews. At Haifa, where the Jews total 45 per cent of the population, they have two out of ten seats on the Municipal Council.

Mr. Page has given the impression that he places credence in the story retailed by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem to the effect that Jews have designs on the Mosque of Omar. The Grand Mufti even exhibited certain incendiary posters which were supposed to be of Jewish origin, and which clearly showed, according to him, that the August disturbances arose out of Jewish threats against the Mosque and other sacred Moslem shrines. We have always had too great a respect for Mr. Page's rationality and sense of humor to believe that he takes this story seriously. We might remind him that at the hearing before the Commission of Inquiry, the Grand Mufti testified that he believed thoroughly in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* whose authenticity even Henry Ford has had to deny.

Many liberals confuse the cause of the *effendis* with that of the *fellaheen*. The latter have no higher status than that of serfs; they are material for exploitation by absentee landlords. The Jews who have come into the land have agitated for a higher scale of wages—for everyone—with the result that the Arab *fellaheen* too has gained. Where there is prosperity, there is education. Where there is education, there is revolt against social oppression. It is this eventuality that the *effendis* fear. But obviously they could not secure the support of the peasants on economic grounds. They thereupon devised appeals to the religious prejudice of the *fellaheen*; the Jews seek your Mosque (which no pious Jew would ever enter, incidentally); they plan to desecrate your sanctuaries. On the basis of this crude libel they have built their campaign against the Jew. It is for the liberal world to decide whether it shall aid the Jew—and the *fellaheen*—or whether it shall support the *effendi* whose goal means the ultimate ruin of both.

Mr. Page concludes by saying that "to have Palestine dominated by an alien minority is not only gross injustice . . . etc." Does he really believe that the Jewish people is alien to Palestine? Does the name of Palestine have any meaning except for the Jews? What has Palestine contributed to civilization that is not of Jewish origin? On the other hand, what did the Arabs during their

thirteen centuries of living in the land, do for Palestine except neglect and sterilize it? It is the aim of the Jew to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine, which means that Jews will have an opportunity in a friendly environment to express their creative genius and to mould their own lives, culturally and spiritually. They bear no hostility to the Arabs and welcome their coöperation and aid. They believe that there is plenty of room in Palestine for the development of both peoples—in peace.

New York City.

ISRAEL CHIPKIN.

Another Jewish Protest

I WOULD be grateful to you for sufficient space in your periodical to challenge some of the basic statements made by Kirby Page in his article "Zionism Clashes with Islam," in THE WORLD TOMORROW for January.

1. That "the riots and massacres in Palestine during the past summer, the Jerusalem outbreak in 1921 and the Jaffa disturbances in 1921 were merely incidents in the relentless conflict steadily being waged between Jews and Arabs in that land."

Between 1921 and 1929 the country was as peaceful above and below the surface as any normal western country. The efforts of the Arab Executive (almost exclusively representative of the *effendi* class) to rouse political resentment in Palestine against the building of the Jewish homeland were so futile that the British Government stripped the country of its garrison, and employed a smaller police force than in any British town of half the population of Palestine. In 1928 the Moslem Supreme Council and the Arab Executive precipitated a violent religious quarrel by unwarranted infringements on the Jewish right to worship before the Wailing Wall. The protests of the Jews enabled the Arab leaders to stage an incredibly bitter campaign against the Jews on the grounds (1) that the Jews wished to annex the Moslem Holy Places, (2) that they wished to rebuild the Temple of Solomon on the site of the Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem. On several occasions the Grand Mufti has stated that he believed these to be the aims of the Jews. He cited Albert Einstein and Lord Melchett as the "religious" leaders of this movement. He reiterated these views before the Inquiry Commission in Palestine and stated that he believed implicitly in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a gross and clumsy forgery exposed several years ago by the London Times.

Throughout the whole of Palestine a strong propaganda was conducted, calling on the Moslems to defend their sanctuaries against the aggressions of the Jews. The Young Moslem Association of Haifa openly circularized the country with this propaganda. Shortly before the riots the country was flooded with statements that the Jews had actually bombed the Mosque. Three weeks after the riots the British Government compelled the Grand Mufti to state to the Moslem world that the Mosque was intact.

To call the riots political, when their basis was so obviously slanderous statements as to what the Jews wanted to do, and had done, to the Mosque of Omar, is in my opinion, a basic and misleading inaccuracy.

2. "Another important advantage possessed by the Jews is found in the privileged position they occupy in the Government of Palestine."

The proportion of Jews in office, major and minor, is below their proportion to the population of the country. In spite of promises made by the British Government to help Jewish settler-

with grants of Crown lands, no such lands have been turned over to the Jews. Arabs have been the sole beneficiaries in this respect. In the educational budget of the country the Jews receive less than their proportion for the schools, though they pay three times their proportion of the taxes.

3. "Not one of the (Jewish) colonies is self-supporting."

Three-quarters of the Jewish colonies are self-supporting. The older colonies, like Petach Tikvah and Rechoboth, are highly profitable.

4. "The Arabs are as a rule not skilled in commerce and finance, realms in which the Jews lead the world."

This statement is, I think, inaccurate both directly and indirectly. The Jews do not lead the world in commerce and finance, popular superstition to the contrary. The Arabs of Palestine control their just proportion of the business of the country—including the foreign sales of the Jewish orange orchards.

5. "Two organized groups of Jews are specially provocative (in Palestine): the Revisionists . . . and the political communists."

The Revisionists are not a factor in Jewish life in Palestine. They have a five per cent representation in the Jewish National Council, a democratically elected body. The Jewish Communists of Palestine number between seventy and eighty, a smaller proportion than is found among the general population of America.

6. "The deadlock is complete."

This is a matter of opinion. My own, like that of many others who have studied the country from within, is that the crisis was precipitated by a handful of old families making their last fight for their medieval privileges. Of over nine hundred towns and villages, less than thirty responded even to the call to "protect the Moslem sanctuaries." This is a struggle not between the masses of the Arabs and the incoming Jews, but between the Arab *effendis* and the democratic, liberal spirit introduced by the Jews. The *fellaheen* are the pawns. The solution to the deadlock lies in the organization and education of the masses of the Palestinian Arabs, a work to which the Jews are contributing directly and indirectly.

New York City

MAURICE SAMUEL

Why Citizenship?

I READ with interest your editorial, "Quakers Keep Out!" It has once more clarified a question which for years knocked at the door of my attention—viz., Why Citizenship? The writer is not a Quaker nor a pacifist; he is a priest of the church—presumably a Christian—and what he calls a Pasic. When he was quite a lad he decided war was immoral, unchristian and devilish. Later he perceived that citizenship involved the surrender of the conscience by the citizen to the will of the state or the whim of those occupying the position of power. Therefore he repudiated citizenship and became in wish at least a world dweller sojourning without citizenship among men. He declined so far as he was able to do so all the privileges of citizenship—save those of *jus gentium*, the common gentry of all humanity. He has lived half a century of life under this rule. He is moderately respected though not quite understood. He has one persuasion that this method points out the only possible way whereby humanity well ever grow strong enough to down the sword wielders. The real need does not seem to be a law to permit Quakers and other pacifists to become citizens, but a law whereby consistent and conscientious Christians can be released from the pretension of the state to hold them as objects, alias citizens!

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The Last Page

SOME people never know when they are well off. The medical world has been having an interesting time over the case of a Hungarian who sustained a head injury fifteen years ago and since that time has not been able to sleep. Dispatches state, however, that the sufferer "works during the day and passes most of the night at coffee houses, reading. He closes his eyes only in bed at dawn to rest them. He says he feels tired if he does not continually occupy his brain. Otherwise he looks fresh and bright." And, believe it or not, the man of no sleep is trying once more to find a treatment that will make him normal!

Speaking as one who has probably lost as much sleep in his life as the next fellow, I simply cannot understand—at least on the face of the story—why the gentleman is dissatisfied. Sitting around all night in coffee houses has long been a secret ambition of mine. The sitting around would indeed be exquisite fun, and to find a coffee house where it would be permitted—that too, would not be other than a miracle. All of those in this section of the country have either gone Alice Foote MacDougall, where you are mobbed with bric-a-brac and swank, or else they set you on an uncomfortable stool and speed the lingering guest. Why, with all that waking time, I might be able to discover the whereabouts of the nation-wide prosperity Mr. Hoover is confident of; catch Mayor Jimmie Walker at work; find something funny in *Life and Judge*; write something quaintly humorous myself; and ferret out a person as unimpressed by the great ideas of modern life as I am.

* * *

I AM unimpressed by the fact that Massachusetts is considering measures to make its executions more humane. Condemned men would be given their choice between electrocution in the customary manner and having it rendered painless by the previous administration of an anaesthetic. All of this leaves me nearly as cold as the long-established practice of feeding men about to die in the noose or the chair with what the papers call a bounteous repast. The anaesthetic scheme is foolish principally in that it is applied to the wrong people. The proper and rational way would be to administer it to the judges just before pronouncing sentence, to the jury before returning a verdict, or to the legislators before passing laws for capital punishment. And, frankly, if somebody went off for a comparatively important errand, let us say to get a soda, and forgot to get back in time to revive the wise men, well—that would be all right with me. Massachusetts administration of justice needs some far more basic reform than chloroform.

* * *

DURING the Gastonia trial when Judge Barnhill drew criticism for admitting the question of belief as a determinant of a witness's character, Judge A. M. Stack of Concord, N. C., won deserved acclaim for saying, in another trial, "A man's character is made up by his acts, his conduct, and you cannot impeach him for what he believes." Noble words! But wrong, alas, all wrong.

A man's character is made up, of course, by the shape of his nose. It is all right for the reformers and moralists to rage, but there are wise students of—well, I forget just what—who have it all worked out. In fact, I have before me a booklet which tells

all about it. There are many types of noses; and since my own seems not to be any one of them, I think it is safe for me to go ahead. There is the commercial nose. There is the energetic nose. There is the suspicious nose. There is the acquisitive and also the inquisitive nose. There is the melancholic nose. There is the weak and vacillating nose. The book says nothing about the red nose, but I myself have seen them.

All these different noses reveal different characters. Andrew Carnegie, for example, is said to have possessed a broad, businesslike and acquisitive nose. Wouldn't that just surprise you? And aren't you equally surprised to learn that the late Chauncey M. Depew owned a nose which revealed the talent of the orator?

I'm going in for this stuff myself. Without even looking at their pictures I have an idea—which comes to me after years of studying, er, I forget now what it was—that Napoleon's nose was aggressive and military, Benedict Arnold's was untrustworthy, Shakespeare's characteristically turned up at every sniff of Bacon, and Nero's nose was that of a fanatical musician. Ain't science grand!

I wish, however, this miracle of divination could be directed toward the future as well as the past. Not only would it be more convincing, but far more valuable. There are a number of men walking about voicing certain public aims to be achieved through certain political methods. If I could only discover from analyzing their noses just which way they were likely to vote when the time actually comes, I'd feel a great deal easier. But I dare not try it. Already I have been glared at several times because all I did was to look fixedly—you have to, you know, to analyze a nose with any thoroughness—at several people's bowsprits, and just touch my fingers ever so lightly to their bridges to classify their conformations. One man, a ruffian to whom I had barely been introduced, threatened rudely to smash me in the nose. I countered by asking him if he realized that to do a thing like that would be practically to ruin my character. He looked at me queerly and moved hastily away. Really, I thought it quite a moral victory.

* * *

I SEE a new method of statistics is growing up among us. New Jersey boasts that she has more miles of improved roads than many a foreign country. New York is not reluctant about advising the universe that she possesses active military forces numbering 24,818, a strength exceeding that of the respective standing armies of thirty-three nations. That's nothing. This very department has one more ECCENTRICUS, such as he is, than any country in the world.

Oh well, maybe these other benighted countries have something (besides this) to be thankful for.

* * *

I SEE that the Lowell, Mass., Y.M.C.A. has banned the use by its members of all foreign languages. Only English is to be allowed. I sincerely hope this movement will not spread. Think what it would do to some Y.M. secretaries that I know!

There are two kinds of English: good English, used by the best speakers and writers; and bad English—used also by the best speakers and writers. Umh, umh. Even

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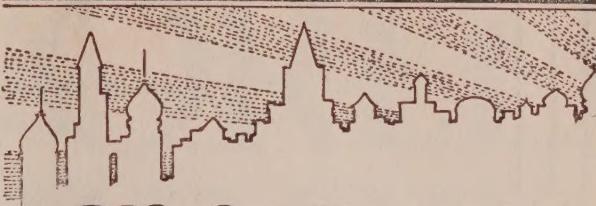
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